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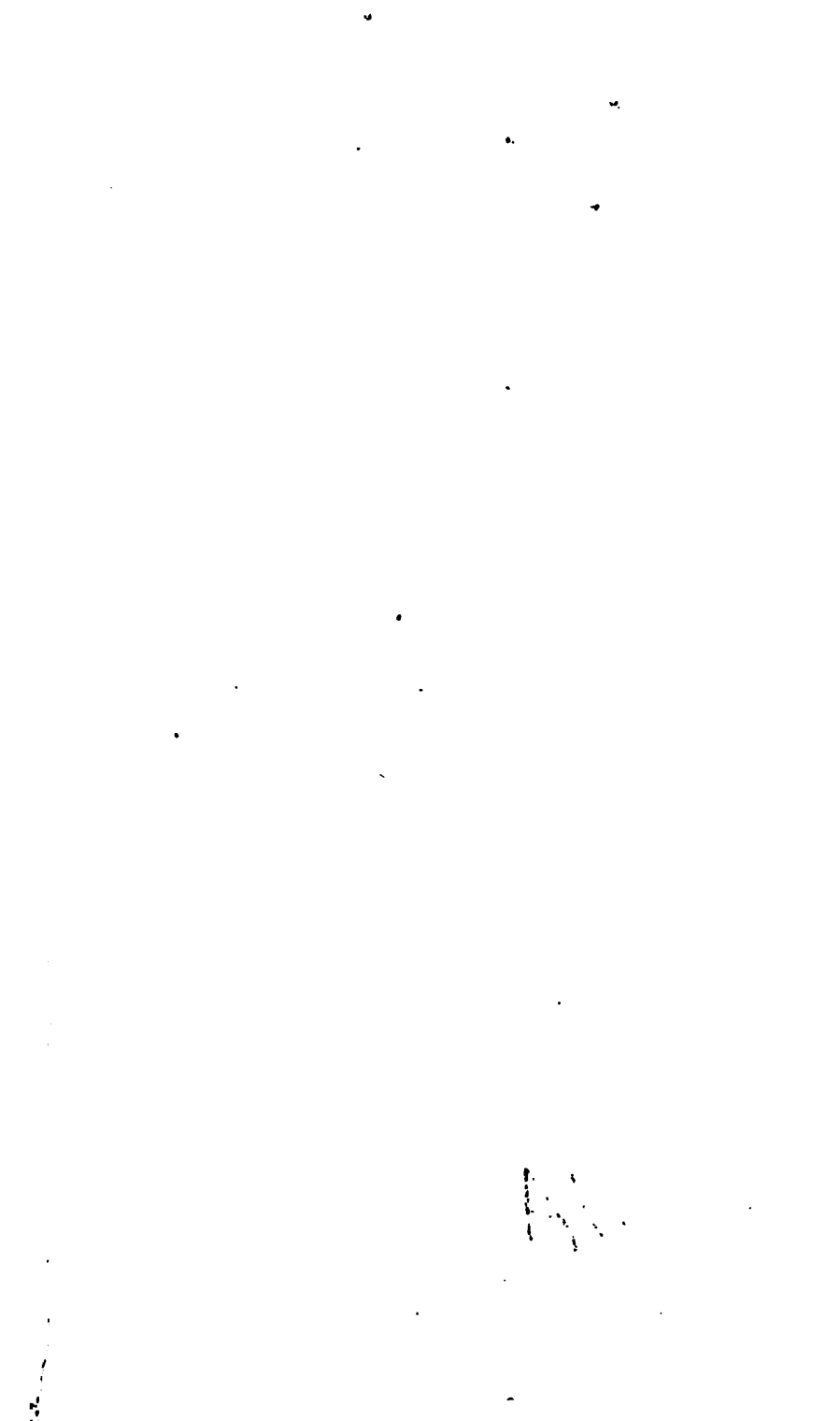
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W. G. Harvey 1798

ANECDOTES

OF THE

L I F E

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

EARL OF CHATHAM;

AND OF

THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS TIME:

WITH

HIS SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT,

FROM

THE YEAR 1736 TO THE YEAR 1778.

Compiled by John Almon

SIT MIHI FAS AUDITA LOQUI. — VIRGIL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOLUME I.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. S. JORDAN, No. 166, FLEET-STREET.

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P R E F A C E

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS,

QUARTO AND OCTAVO.

THE most proper apology for this publication, is a candid and unadorned statement of truth. Had a similar work been executed by any of those persons, who are more capable, and more conversant with the period, and with the conduct of the noble Lord, than the Editor, the Public would not have been troubled with this attempt. It is now fourteen years since Lord Chatham's death, and the writer has not heard, that any intention to offer a similar work has been in the contemplation of any such person. Every period in history is interesting : Undoubt-

edly some periods more than others ; and, perhaps, none more than that of these volumes. But truth is so seldom the object of the historian of his own times, that it has, for some years past, been a trite observation, amongst persons of information, that nothing is so *false* as Modern History. The writers in general may, perhaps, have other views than the relation of facts. But it should be remembered, that those persons, who are in possession of the best and most authentic materials for history, are usually persons of fashion and rank ; and one of these very rarely sits down to the laborious work of writing a volume. Hence arises the *falsehood*, and, it must be added, the *sterility* of Modern History. The important facts dying with the persons who were best acquainted with them, the future writer frequently ascribes motives and consequences to events, with which they have not the most distant relation.

The writer has not the vanity to offer this Work as a History. He presumes no more, than having collected, and preserved, a fund of materials, which may afford light and information to the future inquirer ; who could
not

P R E F A C E.

not have found them in any of the books hitherto printed *. He is conscious, that his style, and some circumstances, are not in his favour. But he is not conscious of having advanced one falsehood. The anecdotes which he has here committed to paper, were, all of them, in their day, very well known. They were the subjects of public conversation. But they have not been published. His situation gave him a knowledge of them, and a personal acquaintance with several of the events. It was his custom to keep a diary; in which he minuted all such circumstances as seemed to him most worthy of remembrance. He has endeavoured to state the facts, as nearly as possible, in the original language; and with the original colouring in which they were spontaneously given at the moment....presuming he should thereby exhibit the most faithful picture of a period, in which the

* Except in a few instances; and these are so immediately connected with the subject of the work, they could not, with propriety, have been omitted. But the names of the books, or pamphlets, from which they are taken, are set down in the margin; and many of these have received considerable additions.

noble Lord appeared the principal figure in the canvass*.

With respect to the Speeches in Parliament, it is proper to inform the reader, that those marked M. S. in the margin, are now first printed from the Editor's notes; or from those of particular friends, who have obligingly assisted him. The rest are copied from various publications, in England, Holland, and America. No pains have been spared to gain the best and fullest account of each speech. But it is not within the compass of one man, or of a first attempt, though neither crudely designed, nor precipitately executed, to obtain perfection. There are doubtless omissions; though it is hoped not many. But if any Gentleman is in possession of any pa-

* It was the opinion of the great Lord Somers, "That the bent and genius of the age is best known in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers which daily come out, as containing the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation."—The authority may be seen in the front of Lord Somers's Tracts.—If these Anecdotes had been printed in the fugitive periodical papers of the times, they must undoubtedly have classed under his Lordship's description. It is presumed, that neither the delay, nor the form of printing, will diminish the judgment of so respectable a recommendation.

pers,

pers, or notes of any speeches, which may elucidate, or contribute to the advantage of this Work, the writer will think himself honoured by the communication of them, for the benefit of a future edition ; if the public favour should make one necessary.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Edition does not differ materially from any of the former. Some typographical, and a few errors of syntax, are the principal corrections. If the Editor had found, or been informed by his friends, that any essential additions had been in his, or in their power to make, he begs leave to assure the Purchasers of the former editions (who have been the encouragers of the Work) that such additions should have been printed separately for their accommodation.

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ANECDOTES

AND

SPEECHES.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.—MR. PITT'S BIRTH.—PLACED AT ETON.—SENT TO OXFORD.—MR. WARTON'S COMPLIMENT TO MR. PITT.—LATIN VERSES BY MR. PITT.—GOES ABROAD.—MADE A CORNET OF HORSE.—ELECTED A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.—HIS FRIENDS.—HIS FIRST SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.—HONOURED BY THE PRINCE OF WALES.—HIS COMMISSION TAKEN FROM HIM BY SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.—VERSES TO HIM BY MR. LYTTELTON.—PATRONIZED BY LORD COBHAM.—HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS.—COMPLIMENTED BY THOMSON; BY HAMMOND.—HIS CONDUCT IN PARLIAMENT ATTACKED BY THE GAZETTEER; DEFENDED BY THE CRAFTSMAN.—THE PRINCE DISMISSED FROM ST. JAMES'S.

THE lives of eminent men afford useful lessons of instruction, as well as great examples for imitation. No native of the British Island stands higher in the judgment of the present age, for either the magnificence of his talents as a senator and statesman, or the virtue of his conduct in both private and public

CHAP.
I.
Introduction.

CHAP.

I.

Introduction.

public life, than the late EARL OF CHATHAM: Nor will the character of any man, however flattered it may have been in description, or however superior he may have been in station, go down to posterity with purer honour.— Other men's names are remembered by the aid of biography; his will be revered by the glories of his actions, which illumined the political hemisphere during the splendid æra in which the reins of government were in his hands. The archives of the various nations of the world, at that period of his life, though written in different languages, will unite in raising a pyramid to his name, which time cannot destroy.

The memoirs of such a man should be written by the first historian of the age. This work assumes an humbler rank in literature. It goes forth with no other claim to public notice, than that of being A Collection of Fugitive Papers and Anecdotes; many of them known to several persons now living, but all of them to very few. In fine, the present publication is the effect of industry, not of ability.

The *Earl of Chatham* was born on the fifteenth of November 1708, in the parish of St. James's, Westminster. He received the first part of his education at Eton, where he was placed upon the foundation. His contemporaries at this school were *George Lyttelton*, afterwards Lord *Lyttelton*, *Henry Fox*, afterwards Lord *Holland*, Sir *Charles Hanbury Williams*, *Henry Fielding*, author of *Tom Jones*, &c. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity College, Oxford. This last circumstance appears by the following extract from the Register in the Burfary in Trinity College, fol. 258 :

CHAP.
I.

His birth.

Placed at
Eton.

Sent to Ox-
ford.

“ Ego *Gulielmus Pitt*, filius *Roberti Pitt*,
“ armigeri, de Old Sarum, natus Londini in
“ parochia Sancti Jacobi; annorum circiter
“ 18 admissus sum commensalis primi ordinis
“ sub tutamine Magistri Stockwell, Jan. die
“ 10, 1726*.”

In

* In reference to his having been a member of Trinity College, are the following lines in Mr. *Warton's* Address to him, upon the death of George the Second :

—————Nor thou refuse
This humble present of no partial Muse,

CHAP.
I.

In the Oxford verses upon the death of *George the First*, which were published the year after he went to college, we find the following by *Mr. Pitt*:

Anglicæ vos O præsentia numina gentis
 Libertas, atque Alma Themis! Neptune Britanni
 Tu pater Oceani! (si jam pacata Georgi
 Imperio tua perlabi licet æquora) vestro
 (Triste ministerium!) pia solvite munera Regi.
 At teneri planctus absint, mollesque querilæ
 Herois tumulo; quas mors deslenda requirit,
 Gesta vetant lacrymas, justæque superbia laudis.
 Instare horribiles longè latèque tumultus
 Hic super Hispanos violenta tumescere campos
 Belli diluvies, illic ad flumina Rheni
 Ardentes furibundus equos immittere Mavors.
 Heu quam in se miseri cladem stragesque cierent!
 Quot fortes caderent animæ! quot gurgite torquens
 Sanguineo fluviùs morientia corpora in altum
 Volveret Oceanum! ni Te succurrere sæclo
 Te solum, visum superis, Auguste, labenti

From that calm Bow'rt, which nurs'd thy thoughtful
 youth

In the pure precepts of Athenian truth:
 Where first the form of British Liberty
 Beam'd in full radiance on thy musing eye;
 That form, whose mien sublime, with equal awe,
 In the same shade unblemish'd Somers saw.

† Trinity College, Oxford; in which also Lord Somers was educated.

Tu

Tu miserans hominum pacem super astra volantem,
Imperio retines, terrasque revivere cogis.

Dextera quid petuit, primis ubi fervor in armis
Impulit ulcisci patriam, populosque gementes,
Turcarum dicant acies, versisque cohortes
Turbatæ signis; dicat perterrita Buda,
Invitaque tuos prætollet laude triumphos,
Fulmina cum attonitum contra torquenda tyrannum
Vidit, et intremuit. Rerum at jam lenior ordo
Arrisit, gladiumque manus consueta rotare
(Majus opus!) gratæ prætendit signa quietis.

Quare agite, O populi, tantarum in munere laudum
Sternite humum foliis. Sed vos ante omnia Musæ
Cæsarem ac astra feretis; amavit vos quoque Cæsar;
Vestraq; cum placida laurus concrevit oliva.

Felix, qui potuit mundi cohibere tumultus!
Fortunatus et illi, ægri solamen amoris
Qui subit Angliacis, tanti audit nominis hæres.
Auspice Te, dives agitans discordia, ludo
Heu satiata nimis! furias amnemque severum
Cocyti repetat, propriosque perhorreat angues.
At secura quies, metuens et gratia culpæ
Te circumvolitent. Themis hinc cælestis, et illinc
Sustentet solium clementia. Tu quoque magnam
Partem habeas opere in tanto, Carolina labore
Imperii recreans fessum: nam Maximus ille
Te colit, atque animi sensum Tibi credit opertum
Curarum consorti, et multo pignore junctæ.

Inclyta progenies! Tibi quam dilecta Tonanti
Latona invidet, quam vel Berecynthia Mater
Centum enixa Deos; si qua hæc sint dona Britannis
Propria, sintque precor, referant et utrumque parentem.

GUL. PITT,

e Coll. Trin. Socio Commens.

CHAP.
I.

Before he left Eton he was afflicted with the gout, which increased during his residence at Oxford; and which at length obliged him to quit the university, without taking a degree. It was hereditary.

He afterwards made the tour of part of France, and part of Italy; but his disorder was not removed by it. He however constantly employed the leisure, which this painful and tedious malady afforded, in the cultivation and improvement of his mind. Lord *Chesterfield*, who rather envied than admired his superiority, says, "that thus he acquired a great fund of premature and useful knowledge."

1735.
Elected a
member of
parliament.

He came first into parliament in the month of February 1735, for the borough of Old Sarum, in the room of his brother; who, being elected for Old Sarum and Oakhampton, made his election for the latter. His brother-in-law, *Robert Nedham* Esq. was his coadjutor. Having five sisters, and an elder brother, his fortune was not very considerable; his friends, therefore, obtained for him a cornet's commission in the Blues, in addition to his income.

Made cornet
at 16.

In

In March 1735, *George Lyttelton* Esq. (eldest son of Sir *Thomas Lyttelton* of Hagley, who married Lord *Cobham's* sister), afterwards Lord *Lyttelton*, was elected member of parliament for Oakhampton, by the interest of *Thomas Pitt* Esq. in the room of Mr. *Northmore*, who died a little time before.

At the general election in 1734, *Richard Grenville* Esq. (the late Earl *Temple*, whose mother was Lord *Cobham's* eldest sister) came first into parliament, being elected for Buckingham. Mr. *W. Pitt*, Mr. *Grenville*, and Mr. *Lyttelton*, became associates, and for several years always sat next to each other in the House of Commons.

Mr. *Pitt* had not been many days in parliament when he was selected for a teller. It appears by the Journals, vol. xxii. page 535, upon a motion to refer the navy estimates to a select committee, that the House divided, and that Mr. *William Pitt* and Mr. *Sandys*, afterwards Lord *Sandys*, were appointed tellers of the minority upon that question.

CHAP.
I.

1736.

Mr. *Pitt's* first speech in parliament was on the 29th of April 1736; upon seconding a motion made by his friend Mr. *Lyttelton*, viz,

“ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to congratulate his Majesty on the nuptials of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*; and to express the satisfaction and great joy of his faithful Commons on this happy occasion, which they look upon with unspeakable comfort, as the means, under the divine Providence, of giving an additional strength to the Protestant interest, and of securing to all future ages the laws and liberties of this nation, in the full manner we now happily and thankfully enjoy them, under the protection of his Majesty's just and mild government over his people.”

When Mr. *Lyttelton* sat down, Mr. *Pitt* rose, and spoke in substance nearly as follows :

Mr. *Pitt's*
first speech.

“ That he was unable to offer any thing that had not been said by his honourable friend

‘ friend who made the motion, in a manner
 ‘ much more suitable to the dignity and im-
 ‘ portance of the subject. But,’ said he, ‘ I am
 ‘ really affected with the prospect of the bless-
 ‘ ings to be derived to my country from
 ‘ this so desirable and long-desired measure,
 ‘ the marriage of his Royal Highness the
 ‘ Prince of *Wales*; I cannot forbear troubling
 ‘ you with a few words, to express my joy,
 ‘ and to mingle my humble offering, incon-
 ‘ siderable as it is, with this oblation of thanks
 ‘ and congratulation to his Majesty.

‘ How great soever the joy of the public
 ‘ may be, and very great it certainly is, in
 ‘ receiving this benefit from his Majesty, it
 ‘ must be inferior to that high satisfaction
 ‘ which he himself enjoys in bestowing it:—
 ‘ And if I may be allowed to suppose, that
 ‘ to a royal mind any thing can transcend
 ‘ the pleasure of gratifying the impatient
 ‘ wishes of a loyal people, it can only be the
 ‘ paternal delight of tenderly indulging the
 ‘ most dutiful application, and most humble
 ‘ request, of a submissive obedient son. I
 ‘ mention, Sir, his Royal Highness’s having
 ‘ asked

CHAP.

I.


 1736.

asked a marriage, because something is, in justice, due to him, for having asked what we are so strongly bound, by all the ties of duty and gratitude, to return his Majesty our most humble acknowledgments for having granted.

• The marriage of a Prince of *Wales*, Sir, has at all times been a matter of the highest importance to the public welfare, to present and to future generations ; but at no time has it been a more important, a more dear consideration, than at this day : if a character, at once amiable and respectable, can embellish, and even dignify, the elevated rank of a Prince of *Wales*. Were it not a sort of presumption to follow so great a person through his hours of retirement, to view him in the milder light of domestic life, we should find him engaged in the noble exercise of humanity, benevolence, and of every social virtue. But, Sir, how pleasing, how captivating soever such a scene may be, yet, as it is a private one, I fear I should offend the delicacy of that virtue I so ardently desire to do justice to, should I offer it to the consideration

deration of this House. But, Sir, filial duty to his Royal parents, a generous love of liberty, and a just reverence for the British constitution; these are public virtues, and cannot escape the applause and benedictions of the public: They are virtues, Sir, which render his Royal Highness not only a noble ornament, but a firm support, if any could possibly be necessary, of that throne so greatly filled by his Royal father.

I have been led to say thus much of his Royal Highness's character, because it is the consideration of that character which, above all things, enforces the justice and goodness of his Majesty in the measure now before us; a measure which the nation thought could never come too soon, because it brings with it the promise of an additional strength to the Protestant succession in his Majesty's illustrious and royal house. The spirit of liberty dictated that succession; the same spirit now rejoices in the prospect of its being perpetuated to latest posterity.— It rejoices in the wise and happy choice which his Majesty has been pleased to make of a Princess, so amiably distinguished in herself,

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‘ herself, so illustrious in the merit of her family, the glory of whose great ancestor it is, to have sacrificed himself to the noblest cause for which a Prince can draw his sword, the cause of liberty and the Protestant religion. Such, Sir, is the marriage, for which our most humble acknowledgments are due to his Majesty ; and may it afford the comfort of seeing the Royal Family (numerous as I thank God it is) still growing and rising up in a third generation ! a family, Sir, which I most sincerely wish may be as immortal as those liberties and that constitution it came to maintain ; and therefore I am heartily for the motion.’

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The speeches of both gentlemen, being what are called maiden, or first speeches, were not only heard with great indulgence, but pleasure ; and were honoured with the warmest approbation of every auditor. The extraordinary merit of these young gentlemen induced his Royal Highness to bestow upon them the most gracious and flattering marks of his distinction and countenance.

Upon

Upon every question Mr. *Pitt* divided with his friends against the minister, and appeared, on every occasion, a firm and determined opponent of the minister's measures. Sir *Robert Walpole* was not a little irritated by this conduct; and being in the habit of dismissing military officers for their conduct in parliament, and having, particularly, a short time before, broke Lord *Cobham* and others, he made no hesitation of breaking Mr. *Pitt*.—This imprudent, violent, and unconstitutional measure, so far from diminishing Mr. *Pitt*'s consequence in the eyes of his patron, or the public, very considerably increased it in both. His friend Mr. *Lyttelton* wrote the following lines on the occasion :

To WILLIAM PITT Esq. on his losing his Commission, in the Year 1736.

Long had thy virtues mark'd thee out for fame,
Far, far superior to a Cornet's name;
This gen'rous *Walpole* saw, and griev'd to find
So mean a post disgrace that noble mind;
The servile standard from the free-born hand
He took, and bad thee lead the patriot band.

Lord *Cobham*, the revered patron of virtue and genius, whose character was in such high
estima-

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estimation that his smile alone conferred honour, was among the foremost to offer him his services and friendship. An acquaintance thus formed, on a congeniality of sentiment and principle, soon ripened into affection; and Mr. *Pitt*'s society was ever after esteemed by his Lordship among the greatest pleasures of his life. It is no wonder, indeed, that a nobleman possessing the knowledge, the virtue, and the discernment of Lord *Cobham*, should be so captivated with, and attached to, his young friend; for, to brilliancy of talents, to a high sense of honour, and to the most exalted principles of public and private virtue, Mr. *Pitt* had united every elegant accomplishment; and his manners and address were as irresistible as his eloquence. His character was, indeed, such as to form a fitter subject of poetic praise, than historic description; and the following extracts will prove that the first poets of his time, *Thomson* and *Hammond*, did not lose the opportunity of painting from so rare a model:

The fair majestic paradise of Stowe
And there, O *Pitt*, thy country's early boast,
There let me sit beneath the shelter'd slopes;
Or in that temple *, where, in future times,

* Temple of Virtue, in Stowe Gardens.

Thos

36

Thou well shalt merit a distinguish'd name ;
 And, with thy converse blest, catch the last smiles
 Of Autumn beaming o'er the yellow woods.
 While there with thee th' enchanted round I walk,
 The regulated wild, gay fancy then
 Will tread in thought the groves of Attic land ;
 Will from thy standard taste refine her own,
 Correct her pencil to the purest truth
 Of Nature ; or, the unimpassion'd shades
 Forfaking, raise it to the human mind.
 Or if hereafter she, with juster hand,
 Shall draw the tragic scene, instruct her, thou !
 To mark the varied movements of the heart,
 What ev'ry decent character requires,
 And ev'ry passion speaks : O, through her strain
 Breathe thy pathetic eloquence ! that moulds
 Th' attentive Senate, charms, persuades, exalts ;
 Of honest Zeal th' indignant lightning throws,
 And shakes Corruption on her venal throne *.

Nor does the elegant and pathetic *Hammond*
 fall short of *Thomson*, in the following lines :

To Stowe's delightful scenes I now repair,
 In *Cobham's* smile to lose the gloom of care. . . .
 There *Pitt*, in manners soft, in friendship warm,
 With mild advice my listening grief shall charm,
 With sense to counsel, and with wit to please,
 A Roman's virtue, with a Courtier's ease.

On the 23d of February 1737, Mr. *Pulteney* (afterwards Earl of *Bath*) moved for

* Thomson's Autumn.

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I.

}

1737.

an address to the King, humbly beseeching his Majesty to settle 100,000*l.* *per annum* on the Prince of *Wales*.

The minister, Sir *Robert Walpole*, opposed this motion with all his strength. The Prince being in opposition to him, he was sensible that a compliance with the motion would as infallibly increase the power of his Royal Highness, as it would diminish his own.—Mr. *Pitt* is said to have spoken very ably in support of the motion, as did Mr. *Grenville* and Mr. *Lyttelton*, on the same side; but their speeches are no where distinctly preserved.—The substance of the debate on both sides is stated only in the form of a general argument, *for*, and *against*, the motion.

The political papers of the time, however, very clearly evince that the minister smarted under the lash of Mr. *Pitt*'s eloquence; for in one of the numbers of the *Gazetteer*, a paper, at that time, avowedly written in support of the minister, and published soon after the close of the session, Mr. *Pitt* is characterized in terms which are as illiberal as they are unjust; and which occasioned the opposition-paper of those times,

times, the Craftsman, to defend him, in reply to the Gazetteer.

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“ Should a young man” (says the Gazetteer), “ just brought into the House of Commons, endeavour to rank himself with the first in reputation and experience, would he not render himself ridiculous by the attempt, and even destroy the degree of fame which he might otherwise deserve? A young man of my acquaintance, through an overbearing disposition, and a weak judgment, assuming the character of a great man, which he is now way able to support, is become the object of ridicule, instead of praise. My young man has the vanity to put himself in the place of Tully. But let him consider, that every one who has the same natural imperfections with Tully, has not therefore the same natural perfections; though his neck should be as long, his body as slender, yet his voice may not be as sonorous, his action may not be as just.—Such a one may be deluded enough to look upon himself as a person of real consequence, and not see that he is raised by a party, as a proper tool for their present purposes, and whom they can at any time pull down, when those purposes are served.”

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In answer to the preceding, the Craftsman,
No. 596, says,

“ That he is not addicted to panegyric, but roused by an honest zeal to resent the blackest personal calumny, by exposing the heart and intention of the wretched author, in brow-beating rising virtue, and flandering a certain young gentleman in the grossest manner ; one who, in every situation, hath conducted himself in the nicest and discreetest manner, and by his thirst after learning hath given reason to expect actions suitable to so happy and singular a beginning. The Gazetteer pretends to an acquaintance of the gentleman ; but surely no man of the least honour would offer to fall so foul on his friend ; neither would an acquaintance of any value or worth advise him thus publicly, and thereby endeavour to expose him to the world. To shew how prejudicial to the good of one’s country such treatment of rising merit may be, let us consider the great *Demosthenes* returning from the bar, discontented at his own performances, meeting such an adviser as this, persuading him, already too much prejudiced against his own imperfections, not to attempt to establish his reputation as an orator, for which he was no-way designed

designed by nature. Such advice, in the situation he was in, might perhaps have had its fatal effect; and what, O Athenians, would you have lost in this case? Not only the reputation of producing one of the brightest orators that ever lived, but the boldest defender of your liberties, and the greatest check to the Macedonian monarch: A man of whom Philip, by his own confession, stood more in awe than of all the Grecian States he fought to oppress."

The Prince being this year deprived of his apartments at St. James's, and excluded from Court, several of his household resigned their places, and were succeeded by others: In this revolution Mr. *Pitt* was appointed groom of the bedchamber, and Mr. *Lyttelton* private secretary to his Royal Highness.

C H A P. II.

MR. PITT'S SPEECHES IN FAVOUR OF A REDUCTION OF THE ARMY—ON THE CONVENTION WITH SPAIN—ON ADMIRAL HADDOCK'S INSTRUCTIONS—ON SIR CHARLES WAGER'S BILL FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF SEAMEN.—REPLY TO MR. HORACE WALPOLE.—REPLY TO MR. WINNINGTON.—ON THE MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS TO REMOVE SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

C H A P.
II.
1738.

MR. *Pitt's* speeches during the remaining period of Sir *Robert Walpole's* administration, which have been preserved, are the seven following*.

On the 4th of February 1738, on the report of the number of land forces, Mr. *Pitt* spoke in favour of a reduction, in reply to Sir *Thomas Lumley Saunderson*, afterwards Earl of *Scarborough*, who had spoken in support of the number proposed by the minister.

* They are taken from *Chandler's* collection of Parliamentary Debates. The authority is not very good, but there is no other account of the Parliamentary Debates during this period. It must likewise be observed, that none of Lord *Chatham's* speeches, prior to 1760, are to be wholly depended upon. And the only apology that can be made for giving them a place in this work, is, that they are generally supposed to contain a part, at least, of his argument.

Sir

Sir *Thomas* had said, that he was surpris'd to hear any placemen arguing in favour of a reduction of the army, which Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, Mr. *Lyttelton*, &c. had done.

C H A P.
II.

1738.

Mr. Pitt's
speech in
favour of a
reduction
of the army.

Mr. *Pitt* began with saying, ' That as to
' what the honourable gentleman had said, re-
' specting those whom he calls placemen, he
' would agree with him, that if they were to
' be directed in their opinions by the places
' they held, they might unite for the support
' of each other, against the common good of
' the nation ; but I hope,' said he, ' none of
' them are under any such directions ; I am
' sure the honourable gentleman himself is
' not, and therefore I am convinced he is not
' serious, when he talks of being surpris'd at
' any placeman's declaring for a reduction of
' our army ; for, of all men, those who en-
' joy any places of profit under our govern-
' ment, ought to be the most cautious of load-
' ing the public with any unnecessary tax or
' expence ; because as the places they possess
' generally bring them in more than their share
' of our taxes can amount to, it may be pro-
' perly said, that by consenting to any article
' of public expence, they lay a load upon
c 3 ' others

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‘ others which they themselves bear no share
‘ of.

‘ I must look upon myself as a placeman,
‘ as well as the honourable gentleman who
‘ spoke last. I am in the service of one of
‘ the branches of the Royal Family, and I
‘ think it my honour to be so; but I should
‘ not think it if I were not as free to give my
‘ opinion upon any question that happens in
‘ this House, as I was before I had any such
‘ place; and I believe, from the behaviour of
‘ gentlemen upon this very occasion, it will
‘ appear, that all those who are in the service
‘ with me are in the same state of freedom, be-
‘ cause I believe they will, upon the question
‘ now before us, appear to be of different
‘ opinions. But there is another set of place-
‘ men, whose behaviour surprises me not a
‘ little, because upon every question respecting
‘ public affairs, they are always unanimous;
‘ and I confess it is to me a little astonishing,
‘ that two or three hundred gentlemen should,
‘ by an unaccountable sort of unanimity, al-
‘ ways agree in opinion, upon the many dif-
‘ ferent questions which occur annually. I
‘ am convinced this surprising unanimity does
‘ not

‘ not proceed from any effect of the places
 ‘ they hold under the crown; for if it did, a
 ‘ man’s being possessed of any place under
 ‘ the crown would, in such a case, I am sure,
 ‘ be an infallible reason for the people not to
 ‘ trust him with the preservation of their li-
 ‘ berties, or the disposal of their properties in
 ‘ parliament.

‘ Then, as to the Tories, and suspected Ja-
 ‘ cobites, I am surprised to hear any compa-
 ‘ rison made between them and the fat man
 ‘ in the crowd. There are so few of either
 ‘ in the kingdom, that I am sure they can give
 ‘ no man an occasion for being afraid of them,
 ‘ and therefore there is not the least shadow of
 ‘ reason for saying they are the occasion of our
 ‘ being obliged to keep such a numerous
 ‘ standing army.

‘ Our large army may properly be com-
 ‘ pared to the fat man in the crowd; for the
 ‘ keeping up of such an army is the first cause
 ‘ of our discontents; and those discontents,
 ‘ now we find, are made the chief pretence
 ‘ for keeping the army. Remove, therefore,
 ‘ the army, or but a considerable part of it,
 ‘ and the discontents complained of will cease.

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‘ I come now to the only argument the hon.
‘ gentleman made use of, which can admit a
‘ serious consideration; and if our army were
‘ entirely, or but generally, composed of ve-
‘ terans, inured to the fatigues and the dangers
‘ of war, and such as had often ventured their
‘ lives against the enemies of their country, I
‘ confess the argument would have a great
‘ weight: But, considering the circumstances
‘ of our present army, I can hardly think my
‘ hon. friend was serious when he made use of
‘ such argument. As for the officers of the
‘ army, they are quite out of the question;
‘ for, in case of a reduction, there is a hand-
‘ some provision for every one of them; no
‘ man can doubt, nor would any man oppose,
‘ their being put upon half pay; and I must
‘ observe, that our half pay is better, or as
‘ good, as full pay, I believe, in any other
‘ country in Europe; for in the method our
‘ army is now kept up, I could shew, by cal-
‘ culation, that it costs the nation more than
‘ would maintain three times the number of
‘ men either in France or Germany. And as
‘ for the soldiers, I believe it may be said of
‘ at least three-fourths of them, that they
‘ never went under any fatigue except that
‘ of a review, nor were ever exposed to any
‘ danger,

‘ danger, except in apprehending smugglers,
 ‘ or dispersing mobs; therefore I must think,
 ‘ they have no claim for any greater reward
 ‘ than the pay they have already received, nor
 ‘ should I think we were guilty of the least
 ‘ ingratitude if they were all turned adrift to-
 ‘ morrow morning.

‘ But suppose, Sir, the soldiers of our army
 ‘ were all such as had served a campaign or
 ‘ two against a public enemy; is it from
 ‘ thence to be inferred, that they must for
 ‘ ever after live idly, and be maintained at the
 ‘ expence of their country, and that in such a
 ‘ manner as to be dangerous to the liberties
 ‘ of their country? At this rate, if a man has
 ‘ but once ventured his life in the service of
 ‘ his country, he must for ever be not only a
 ‘ burthen but a terror to his country. This
 ‘ would be a sort of reward which I am sure
 ‘ no brave soldier would accept of, nor any
 ‘ honest one desire, That we should shew a
 ‘ proper gratitude to those who have ventured
 ‘ their lives in the service of their country, is
 ‘ what I shall readily acknowledge; but this
 ‘ gratitude ought to be shewn in such a way as
 ‘ not to be dangerous to our liberties, nor too
 ‘ burthen-

C H A P.
II.

1738.

‘ burthenfome to the people ; and therefore,
‘ when a war is at an end, if a foldier can
‘ provide for himfelf, either by his labour, or
‘ by his own private fortune, he ought not to
‘ expect, and if he is not of a mercenary difpo-
‘ fition, he will fcorn to receive, any other re-
‘ wards than thofe which confift in the pecu-
‘ liar honour and privileges, which may and
‘ ought to be conferred upon him.

‘ That we ought to fhew a proper gratitude
‘ to every man who has ventured his life in
‘ the caufe of his country, is what, I am fure,
‘ no gentleman will deny: Yet, as the laws
‘ now ftand, an old officer, who has often ven-
‘ tured his life, and often fpilt his blood, in the
‘ fervice of his country, may be difmiffed and
‘ reduced, perhaps to a ftarving condition, at
‘ the arbitrary will and pleafure, perhaps at
‘ the whim, of a minifter; fo that by the
‘ prefent eftablifhment of the army, the re-
‘ ward of a foldier feems not to depend upon
‘ the fervices done to his country, but upon
‘ the fervices he does to thofe who happen to
‘ be minifters at the time. Muft not this be
‘ allowed to be a defect in the prefent efta-
‘ blifhment? And yet when a law was pro-
‘ pofed

‘ posed for supplying this defect, we may re-
 ‘ member what reception it met with, even
 ‘ from those who now insist so highly upon
 ‘ the gratitude we ought to shew the gentle-
 ‘ men of the army.’

C H A P.
 II.

1738.

On the 8th of March 1739, Mr. *H. Walpole*
 having moved that an address of thanks be
 presented to the King, on the convention
 with Spain, this motion brought on a long
 debate; in which Mr. *Pitt* followed Mr. *Howe*
 (afterwards created Lord *Cbedworth*), who
 spoke for the address, Mr. *Pitt* against it, viz.

1739.

‘ I can by no means think that the com-
 ‘ plicated question now before us, is the pro-
 ‘ per, the direct manner of taking the sense of
 ‘ this committee. We have here the soft
 ‘ name of an humble address to the crown
 ‘ proposed, and for no other end but to lead
 ‘ gentlemen into an approbation of the con-
 ‘ vention. But is this that full, deliberate
 ‘ examination, which we were with defiance
 ‘ called upon to give? Is this cursory blended
 ‘ disquisition of matters, of such variety and
 ‘ extent, all we owe to ourselves and our
 ‘ country? When trade is at stake, it is your
 ‘ last

Speech upon
 the Spanish
 convention.

CHAP.
II.

1739.

‘ last entrenchment; you must defend it, or perish; and whatever is to decide, that deserves the most distinct consideration, and the most direct undisguised sense of Parliament. But how are we now proceeding? Upon an artificial, ministerial question:— Here is all the confidence, here is the conscious sense of the greatest service that ever was done to this country; to be complicating questions, to be lumping sanction and approbation like a commissary’s accout; to be covering and taking sanctuary in the Royal name, instead of meeting openly and standing fairly the direct judgment and sentence of Parliament upon the several articles of this convention,

‘ You have been moved to vote an humble address of thanks to his Majesty, for a measure which (I will appeal to gentlemen’s conversation in the world) is odious throughout the kingdom: Such thanks are only due to the fatal influence that framed it, as are due for that low, unallied condition abroad, which is now made a plea for this convention. To what are gentlemen reduced in support of it? First try a little to defend it
‘ upon

‘ upon its own merits; if that is not tenable,
‘ throw out general terrors—the House of
‘ Bourbon is united; who knows the conse-
‘ quence of a war? Sir, Spain knows the
‘ consequence of a war in America; whoever
‘ gains, it must prove fatal to her; she knows
‘ it, and must therefore avoid it; but she
‘ knows England does not dare to make it;
‘ and what is a delay, which is all this magni-
‘ fied convention is sometimes called, to pro-
‘ duce? Can it produce such conjunctures as
‘ those you lost, while you were giving
‘ kingdoms to Spain, and all to bring her back
‘ again to that great branch of the House of
‘ Bourbon, which is now thrown out to you
‘ with so much terror? If this union be for-
‘ midable, are we to delay only till it becomes
‘ more formidable, by being carried further
‘ into execution, and more strongly cement-
‘ ed?—But be it what it will, is this any
‘ longer a nation, or what is an English par-
‘ liament, if with more ships in your har-
‘ bours than in all the navies of Europe, with
‘ above two millions of people in your Ame-
‘ rican colonies, you will bear to hear of the
‘ expediency of receiving from Spain an infe-
‘ cure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable con-
‘ vention?

CHAP.
II.

1739-

‘vention? Sir, I call it no more than it has
 ‘ been proved in this debate; it carries fallacy
 ‘ or downright subjection in almost every line.
 ‘ It has been laid open and exposed in so many
 ‘ strong and glaring lights, that I can pretend
 ‘ to add nothing to the conviction and indig-
 ‘ nation it has raised.

‘ Sir, as to the great national objection, the
 ‘ searching your ships, that favourite word,
 ‘ as it was called, is not omitted, indeed, in
 ‘ the preamble to the convention, but it stands
 ‘ there as the reproach of the whole, as the
 ‘ strongest evidence of the fatal submission
 ‘ that follows: On the part of Spain, an usurp-
 ‘ ation, an inhuman tyranny, claimed and
 ‘ exercised over the American seas; on the
 ‘ part of England, an undoubted right, by
 ‘ treaties, and from God and nature, declared
 ‘ and asserted in the resolutions of Parliament,
 ‘ are referred to the discussion of plenipoten-
 ‘ tiaries, upon one and the same equal foot.
 ‘ Sir, I say this undoubted right is to be dis-
 ‘ cussed and regulated. And if to regulate be
 ‘ to prescribe rules (as in all construction it is),
 ‘ this right is, by the express words of this
 ‘ convention, to be given up and sacrificed;
 ‘ for

‘ for it must cease to be any thing from the
‘ moment it is submitted to limits.

C H A P.
II.
1739

‘ The court of Spain has plainly told you
‘ (as appears by papers upon the table)
‘ you shall steer a due course; you shall na-
‘ vigate by a line to and from your planta-
‘ tions in America; if you draw near to her
‘ coasts (though from the circumstances of
‘ that navigation you are under an unavoid-
‘ able necessity of doing it), you shall be
‘ seized and confiscated. If, then, upon these
‘ terms only she has consented to refer, what
‘ becomes at once of all the security we are
‘ flattered with, in consequence of this refer-
‘ ence? Plenipotentiaries are to regulate fi-
‘ nally the respective pretensions of the two
‘ crowns, with regard to trade and naviga-
‘ tion in America; but does a man in
‘ Spain reason that these pretensions must be
‘ regulated to the satisfaction and honour of
‘ England? No, Sir, they conclude, and with
‘ reason, from the high spirit of their admi-
‘ nistration, from the superiority with which
‘ they have so long treated you, that this re-
‘ ference must end, as it has begun, to their
‘ honour and advantage.

‘ But

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1739.

‘ But gentlemen say, the treaties subsisting
 ‘ are to be the measure of this regulation. Sir,
 ‘ as to treaties, I will take part of the words
 ‘ of Sir *William Temple*, quoted by the hon.
 ‘ gentleman near me; *It is vain to negotiate*
 ‘ and make *treaties*, if there is not dignity and
 ‘ vigour to enforce the observance of them; for
 ‘ under the misconstruction and misrepresentation
 ‘ of these very treaties subsisting, this intolerable
 ‘ grievance has arisen; it has been growing
 ‘ upon you, treaty after treaty, through
 ‘ twenty years of negotiation, and even under
 ‘ the discussion of commissaries, to whom it was
 ‘ referred. You have heard from Captain
 ‘ Vaughan, at your bar, at what time these injuries
 ‘ and indignities were continued. As a
 ‘ kind of explanatory comment upon the convention,
 ‘ Spain has thought fit to grant you, as
 ‘ another insolent protest, under the validity
 ‘ and force of which she has suffered this convention
 ‘ to be proceeded upon, We’ll treat
 ‘ with you, but we’ll search and take your
 ‘ ships; we’ll sign a convention, but we’ll
 ‘ keep your subjects prisoners, prisoners in
 ‘ Old Spain; the West Indies are remote;
 ‘ Europe shall be witness how we use you.

‘ As

' As to the inference of an admission of our
 ' right not to be searched, drawn from a repara-
 ' tion made for ships unduly seized and con-
 ' fiscated, I think that argument is very in-
 ' conclusive. The right claimed by Spain to
 ' search our ships is one thing, and the ex-
 ' cesses admitted to have been committed in
 ' consequence of this pretended right, is ano-
 ' ther ; but surely, Sir, reasoning from infer-
 ' ences and implication only, is below the
 ' dignity of your proceedings, upon a right
 ' of this vast importance. What this repara-
 ' tion is, what sort of composition for your
 ' losses, forced upon you by Spain, in an in-
 ' stance that has come to light, where your
 ' own commissaries could not in conscience
 ' decide against your claim, has fully appeared
 ' upon examination; and as for the payment
 ' of the sum stipulated (all but seven and
 ' twenty thousand pounds, and that too sub-
 ' ject to a drawback), it is evidently a fallaci-
 ' ous nominal payment only. I will not at-
 ' tempt to enter into the detail of a dark, con-
 ' fused, and scarcely intelligible accompt ; I
 ' will only beg leave to conclude with one
 ' word upon it, in the light of a submission,
 ' as well as of an adequate reparation. Spain

stipulates to pay to the crown of England
 ninety-five thousand pounds; by a preliminary
 protest of the King of Spain, the South
 Sea Company is at once to pay sixty-eight
 thousand of it: If they refuse, Spain, I admit,
 is still to pay the ninety-five thousand
 pounds: But how does it stand then? The
 Affiento contract is to be suspended: You
 are to purchase this sum at the price of an
 exclusive trade, pursuant to a national treaty,
 and of an immense debt of God knows how
 many hundred thousand pounds due from
 Spain to the South Sea Company. Here,
 Sir, is the submission of Spain, by the payment
 of a stipulated sum; a tax laid upon
 subjects of England, under the severest penalties,
 with the reciprocal accord of an English minister,
 as a preliminary that the convention may be signed;
 a condition imposed by Spain in the most absolute,
 imperious manner; and received by the ministers
 of England in the most tame and abject.
 Can any verbal distinctions, any evasions
 whatever, possibly explain away this public
 infamy? To whom would we disguise it?
 To ourselves and to the nation. I wish we
 could hide it from the eyes of every

‘ every court in Europe: They see Spain has
 ‘ talked to you like your master; they see
 ‘ this arbitrary fundamental condition, and it
 ‘ must stand with distinction, with a pre-emi-
 ‘ nence of shame, as a part even of this con-
 ‘ vention.

‘ This convention, Sir, I think from my
 ‘ soul, is nothing but a stipulation for na-
 ‘ tional ignominy; an illusory expedient, to
 ‘ baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce
 ‘ without a suspension of hostilities on the
 ‘ part of Spain; on the part of England a sus-
 ‘ pension: As to Georgia, of the first law of
 ‘ nature, self-preservation and self-defence, a
 ‘ surrender of the rights and trade of England
 ‘ to the mercy of plenipotentiaries, and in
 ‘ this infinitely highest and sacred point, fu-
 ‘ ture security, not only inadequate, but di-
 ‘ rectly repugnant to the resolutions of Par-
 ‘ liament, and the gracious promise from the
 ‘ throne. The complaints of your despairing
 ‘ merchants, the voice of England has con-
 ‘ demned it: Be the guilt of it upon the head
 ‘ of the adviser. God forbid that this Com-
 ‘ mittee should share the guilt by approving
 ‘ it!’

C H A P.
II.

The address was agreed to.

1740.

On a motion made by Mr. *Waller*, on the 24th of January 1740, for copies of letters and orders sent to Admiral *Haddock*, and others, Mr. *Pitt* made a short speech in support of the motion, in reply to Sir *Robert Walpole*, who opposed it. Sir *Robert* concluded with saying, ‘ That the time which would be
‘ taken up with such a fruitless inquiry might
‘ be more usefully employed;’ which brought up Mr. *Pitt*, who said,

Speech on
Admiral
Haddock’s
instructions.

‘ It is my opinion, that our time cannot
‘ be more usefully employed, during a war,
‘ than examining how it has been conducted,
‘ and settling the degree of confidence that
‘ may be reposed in those to whose care are
‘ entrusted our reputations, our fortunes, and
‘ our lives.

‘ There is not any inquiry, Sir, of more
‘ importance than this; it is not a question
‘ about an uncertain privilege, or a law which,
‘ if found inconvenient, may hereafter be re-
‘ pealed; we are now to examine whether it
‘ is probable that we shall preserve our com-
‘ merce

‘merce and our independence, or whether
 ‘we are sinking into subjection to foreign
 ‘power.

CHAP.
 II.

1740.

‘But this inquiry, Sir, will produce no
 ‘great information, if those whose conduct is
 ‘examined are allowed to select the evidence;
 ‘for what accounts will they exhibit but such
 ‘as have often already been laid before us,
 ‘and such as they now offer without concern?
 ‘Accounts obscure and fallacious, imperfect
 ‘and confused; from which nothing can be
 ‘learned, and which can never entitle the
 ‘minister to praise, though they may screen
 ‘him from punishment.’

In the same session, on the 10th of March
 1740, on the bill brought in by Sir *Charles*
Wager, for the encouragement of seamen,
 and speedier manning the royal navy, Mr.
Pitt spoke against the bill, *viz.*

‘It is common for those to have the
 ‘greatest regard to their own interest, who
 ‘discover the least for that of others. I do
 ‘not, therefore, despair of recalling the ad-
 ‘vocates of this bill from the prosecution of
 D 3 ‘their

Speech on
 the bill for
 the encour-
 agement
 of seamen.

CHAP.
II.

174c.

‘ their favourite measures by arguments of
 ‘ greater efficacy than those which are pre-
 ‘ tended to be founded on reason and justice.

‘ Nothing is more evident, than that some
 ‘ degree of reputation is absolutely necessary
 ‘ to men who have any concern in the admi-
 ‘ nistration of a government like ours; they
 ‘ must either secure the fidelity of their ad-
 ‘ herents, by the assistance of wisdom or of
 ‘ virtue; their enemies must either be awed
 ‘ by their honesty, or terrified by their cun-
 ‘ ning. Mere artless bribery will never gain
 ‘ a sufficient majority to set them entirely
 ‘ free from apprehensions of censure. To
 ‘ different tempers, different motives must be
 ‘ applied: Some, who place their felicity in
 ‘ being accounted wise, are in very little care
 ‘ to preserve the character of honesty; others
 ‘ may be persuaded to join in measures which
 ‘ they easily discover to be weak and ill-con-
 ‘ certed, because they are convinced that the
 ‘ authors of them are not corrupt, but mis-
 ‘ taken, and are unwilling that any man
 ‘ should be punished for natural defects or
 ‘ casual ignorance.

‘ I cannot say which of these motives influence the advocates for the bill before us; a bill in which such cruelties are proposed, as are yet unknown among the most savage nations; such as slavery has not yet borne, or tyranny invented; such as cannot be heard without resentment, nor thought of without horror.

‘ It is, perhaps, not unfortunate that one more expedient has been added, rather ridiculous than shocking, and that these tyrants of administration, who amuse themselves with oppressing their fellow-subjects, who add, without reluctance, one hardship to another, invade the liberty of those whom they have already overborne with taxes, first plunder, and then imprison; who take all opportunities of heightening the public distresses, and make the miseries of war the instruments of new oppressions; are too ignorant to be formidable, and owe their power, not to their abilities, but to casual prosperity, or to the influence of money.

‘ The other clauses of this bill, complicated at once with cruelty and folly, have been

CHAP.
II.

1740.

‘ treated with becoming indignation; but this
 ‘ may be considered with less ardour and re-
 ‘ sentment, and fewer emotions of zeal; be-
 ‘ cause, though not perhaps equally iniquitous,
 ‘ it will do no harm; for a law that can never
 ‘ be executed can never be felt.

‘ That it will consume the manufacture of
 ‘ paper, and swell the book of statutes, is all
 ‘ the good or hurt that can be hoped or
 ‘ feared from a law like this; a law which
 ‘ fixes what is in its own nature mutable,
 ‘ which prescribes rules to the seasons and li-
 ‘ mits to the wind.

‘ I am too well acquainted, Sir, with the
 ‘ disposition of its two chief supporters, to
 ‘ mention the contempt with which this law
 ‘ will be treated by posterity; for they have
 ‘ already shewn abundantly their disregard of
 ‘ succeeding generations; but I will remind
 ‘ them, that they are now venturing their
 ‘ whole interest at once, and hope they will
 ‘ recollect, before it is too late, that those
 ‘ who believe them to intend the happiness of
 ‘ their country, will never be confirmed in
 ‘ their opinion by open cruelty and notorious
 ‘ oppression;

‘oppression; and that those who have only
 ‘their own interest in view, will be afraid
 ‘of adhering to those leaders, however old
 ‘and practised in expedients, however
 ‘strengthened by corruption, or elated with
 ‘power, who have no reason to hope for suc-
 ‘cess from either their virtue or abilities.’

This speech produced an answer from Mr. *Walpole*, who, in the course of it, said, ‘For-
 ‘midable sounds and furious declamation,
 ‘confident assertions, and lofty periods, may
 ‘affect the young and unexperienced; and
 ‘perhaps the hon. gentleman may have con-
 ‘tracted his habits of oratory by conversing
 ‘more with those of his own age, than
 ‘with such as have had more opportunities of
 ‘acquiring knowledge, and more successful
 ‘methods of communicating their sentiments;’
 and made use of some expressions, such as ve-
 hement of gesture, theatrical emotion, &c.
 applying them to Mr. *Pitt*’s manner of speak-
 ing. As soon as Mr. *Walpole* sat down, Mr.
Pitt got up, and replied;

Mr. H.
Walpole.

‘The atrocious crime of being a young
 ‘man, which the hon. gentleman has with
 ‘such

Reply to
Mr. Wal-
pole.

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‘ such spirit and decency charged upon me, I
‘ shall neither attempt to palliate nor deny,
‘ but content myself with wishing that I may
‘ be one of those whose follies may cease with
‘ their youth, and not of that number who
‘ are ignorant in spite of experience.

‘ Whether youth can be imputed to any man
‘ as a reproach, I will not assume the province
‘ of determining: But surely age may be-
‘ come justly contemptible, if the opportuni-
‘ ties which it brings have past away without
‘ improvement, and vice appears to prevail
‘ when the passions have subsided. The
‘ wretch that, after having seen the conse-
‘ quences of a thousand errors, continues still
‘ to blunder, and whose age has only added
‘ obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of
‘ either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves
‘ not that his grey head should secure him
‘ from insults.

‘ Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as
‘ he has advanced in age, has receded from
‘ virtue, and becomes more wicked with less
‘ temptation; who prostitutes himself for
‘ money which he cannot enjoy, and spends

‘ the

' the remains of his life in the ruin of his
' country.

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374B.

' But youth is not my only crime;—I have
' been accused of acting a theatrical part: A
' theatrical part may either imply some pecu-
' liarities of gesture, or a dissimulation of my
' real sentiments, and an adoption of the
' opinions and language of another man.

' In the first sense, the charge is too trifling
' to be confuted, and deserves only to be
' mentioned, that it may be despised. I am
' at liberty, like every other man, to use my
' own language; and though I may, perhaps,
' have some ambition, yet, to please this gen-
' tleman, I shall not lay myself under any re-
' straint, nor very solicitously copy his diction,
' or his mien, however matured by age, or
' modelled by experience. If any man shall,
' by charging me with theatrical behaviour,
' imply that I utter any sentiments but my
' own, I shall treat him as a calumniator and
' a villain; nor shall any protection shelter
' him from the treatment which he deserves.
' I shall, on such an occasion, without scruple
' trample upon all those forms with which
' wealth

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‘ wealth and dignity entrench themselves, nor
 ‘ shall any thing but age restrain my resent-
 ‘ ment; age, which always brings one pri-
 ‘ vilege, that of being insolent and supercili-
 ‘ ous without punishment.

‘ But with regard to those whom I have of-
 ‘ fended, I am of opinion, that if I had acted
 ‘ a borrowed part, I should have avoided
 ‘ their censure; the heat that offended them
 ‘ is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal
 ‘ for the service of my country which neither
 ‘ hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress.
 ‘ I will not sit unconcerned while my liberty
 ‘ is invaded, nor look in silence upon public
 ‘ robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at
 ‘ whatever hazard, to repel the aggressor, and
 ‘ drag the thief to justice, whoever may pro-
 ‘ tect them in their villainy, and whoever
 ‘ may partake of their plunder. And if the
 ‘ hon. gentleman——’

Mr. Win-
 nington.

Here he was called to order by Mr. *Win-
 nington*, who reprehended him in very illi-
 beral terms, and was proceeding in the same
 strain, when Mr. *Pitt*, in turn, called Mr.
Winnington to order, and said,

‘ If

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II.1740.
Reply to
Mr. Win-
nington.

‘ If this be to preserve order, there is no
 ‘ danger of indecency from the most licenti-
 ‘ ous tongue; for what calumny can be more
 ‘ atrocious, or what reproach more severe,
 ‘ than that of speaking without any regard to
 ‘ truth? Order may sometimes be broken by
 ‘ passion or inadvertency, but will hardly be
 ‘ re-established by a monitor like this, who
 ‘ cannot govern his own passion whilst he is
 ‘ restraining the impetuosity of others.

‘ Happy would it be for mankind, if every
 ‘ one knew his own province; we should not
 ‘ then see the same man at once a criminal and
 ‘ a judge; nor would this gentleman assume
 ‘ the right of dictating to others what he has
 ‘ not learned himself.

‘ That I may return, in some degree, the
 ‘ favour which he intends me, I will advise
 ‘ him never hereafter to exert himself on the
 ‘ subject of order; but whenever he finds
 ‘ himself inclined to speak on such occasions,
 ‘ to remember how he has now succeeded,
 ‘ and condemn in silence what his censures
 ‘ will never perform.’

On

CHAP.

II.

1741.

On the 13th of February 1741, Mr. *Sandys* (afterwards Lord *Sandys*) moved an address to the King, requesting his Majesty to remove Sir *Robert Walpole* from his presence and councils for ever.

Mr. *Pitt* spoke in support of this motion, viz.

On the motion to remove Sir R. Walpole.

‘ As it has been observed, that those who
 ‘ have formerly approved the measures of the
 ‘ gentleman into whose conduct we are now
 ‘ inquiring, cannot be expected to disavow
 ‘ their former opinions, unless new arguments
 ‘ are produced of greater force than those
 ‘ which have formerly been offered; so the
 ‘ same steadiness must be expected in those
 ‘ who have opposed them, unless they can
 ‘ now hear them better defended.

‘ It is an established maxim, Sir, that as
 ‘ time is the test of opinions, falsehood grows
 ‘ every day weaker, and truth gains upon
 ‘ mankind. This is most eminently just in
 ‘ political assertions, which often respect fu-
 ‘ ture events, and the remote consequences of
 ‘ transactions; and therefore never fails to
 ‘ be,

' be, by time, incontestably. verified, or un-
 ' deniably combated. On many occasions it
 ' is impossible to determine the expediency of
 ' measures otherwise than by conjecture; be-
 ' cause almost every step that can be taken,
 ' may have a tendency to a good, as well as to
 ' a bad end: And as he who proposes, and he
 ' who promotes, may conceal their intentions
 ' till they are ripened into execution, time
 ' only can discover the motives of their de-
 ' mands, and the principles of their conduct.

' For this reason it may easily be expected,
 ' that bad measures will be condemned by men
 ' of integrity, when their consequences are
 ' fully discovered; though, when they were
 ' proposed, they might, by plausible declara-
 ' tions and specious appearances, obtain
 ' their approbation and applause. Those,
 ' whose purity of intention and simplicity
 ' of morals, exposed them to credulity and
 ' implicit confidence, must resent the arts by
 ' which they were deluded into a concurrence
 ' with projects detrimental to their country,
 ' but of which the consequences were artfully
 ' concealed from them, or the real intention
 ' steadily denied.

' With

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1741.

‘ With regard to those gentlemen, whose
 ‘ neglect of political studies has not quali-
 ‘ fied them to judge of the questions when
 ‘ they were first debated; and who, giving
 ‘ their suffrages, were not so much directed
 ‘ by their own conviction, as by the autho-
 ‘ rity of men whose experience and know-
 ‘ ledge they knew to be great, and whose in-
 ‘ tegrity they had hitherto found no reason
 ‘ to distrust; it may be naturally expected,
 ‘ that when they see those measures which
 ‘ were recommended, as necessary to peace
 ‘ and happiness, productive only of confusion,
 ‘ oppression, and distress, they should ac-
 ‘ knowledge their error, and forsake their
 ‘ guides, whom they must discover to have
 ‘ been either ignorant or treacherous; and by
 ‘ an open recantation of their former deci-
 ‘ sions, endeavour to repair the calamities
 ‘ which they have contributed to bring on
 ‘ their country.

‘ The extent and complication of political
 ‘ questions is such, that no man can justly be
 ‘ ashamed of having been sometimes mistaken
 ‘ in his determinations; and the propensity
 ‘ of the human mind to confidence and
 ‘ friend-

‘ friendship is so great, that every man, how-
 ‘ ever cautious, however sagacious, or however
 ‘ experienced, is exposed sometimes to the ar-
 ‘ tifices of interest and the delusions of hy-
 ‘ pocrify; but it is the duty, and ought to
 ‘ be the honour, of every man to own his mis-
 ‘ take, whenever he discovers it, and to warn
 ‘ others against those frauds which have been
 ‘ too successfully practised upon himself.

‘ I am, therefore, inclined to hope, that
 ‘ every man will not be equally pre-deter-
 ‘ mined in the present debate, and that as I
 ‘ shall be ready to declare my approbation of
 ‘ integrity and wisdom, though they should
 ‘ be found where I have long suspected igno-
 ‘ rance and corruption; as others will, with
 ‘ equal justice, censure wickedness and error,
 ‘ though they should have been detected in
 ‘ that person whom they have been long
 ‘ taught to reverence as the oracle of know-
 ‘ ledge and the pattern of virtue.

‘ In political debates, time always produces
 ‘ new lights; time can, in these inquiries,
 ‘ never be neutral, but must always acquit or
 ‘ condemn. Time, indeed, may not always
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‘ produce new arguments against bad conduct,
 ‘ because all its consequences might be origin-
 ‘ ally foreseen and exposed ; but it must al-
 ‘ ways confirm them, and ripen conjectures
 ‘ into certainty. Though it should, there-
 ‘ fore, be truly asserted, that nothing is urged
 ‘ in this debate which was not before men-
 ‘ tioned and rejected, it will not prove that
 ‘ because the arguments are the same, they
 ‘ ought to produce the same effect ; because
 ‘ what was then only foretold, has now been
 ‘ seen and felt, and what was then but be-
 ‘ lieved is now known.

‘ But if time has produced no vindication
 ‘ of those measures which were suspected of
 ‘ imprudence or of treachery, it must be at
 ‘ length acknowledged that those suspicions
 ‘ were just, and that what ought then to have
 ‘ been rejected, ought now to be punished.

‘ This is, for the most part, the state of the
 ‘ question. Those measures which were
 ‘ once defended by sophistical reasoning, or
 ‘ palliated by warm declamations of sincerity
 ‘ and disinterested zeal for the public happi-
 ‘ ness, are found to be such as they were re-
 ‘ presented

‘ presented by those who opposed them. It
 ‘ is now discovered that the treaty of Hanover
 ‘ was calculated only for the advancement of
 ‘ the House of Bourbon; that our armies are
 ‘ kept up only to multiply dependence, and
 ‘ to awe the nation from the exertion of its
 ‘ rights; that Spain has been courted only to
 ‘ the ruin of our trade; and that the conven-
 ‘ tion was little more than an artifice to amuse
 ‘ the people with an idle appearance of a re-
 ‘ conciliation, which our enemies never in-
 ‘ tended.

‘ Of the stipulation which produced the
 ‘ memorable treaty of Hanover, the impro-
 ‘ bability was often urged, but the absolute
 ‘ falsehood could be proved only by the de-
 ‘ claration of one of the parties. This decla-
 ‘ ration was at length produced by time,
 ‘ which was never favourable to the measures
 ‘ of our minister. For the Emperor of Ger-
 ‘ many asserted, with the utmost solemnity,
 ‘ that no such article was ever proposed; and
 ‘ that his engagements with Spain had no
 ‘ tendency to produce any change in the go-
 ‘ vernment of this kingdom.

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‘ Thus it is evident, Sir, that all the terrors which the apprehension of this alliance produced, were merely the operation of fraud upon cowardice; and that they were only raised by the artful French, to disunite us from the only power with which it is our interest to cultivate an inseparable friendship. This disunion may therefore be justly charged upon the minister, who has weakened the interest of this country, and endangered the liberties of Europe.

‘ If it be asked, Sir, how he could have discovered the falsehood of the report, before it was confuted by the late Emperor, it may easily be answered, that he might have discovered it by the same tokens which betrayed it to his opponents, the impossibility of putting it into execution. For it must be confessed, that his French informers, well acquainted with his disposition to panic fears, had used no caution in the construction of their imposture, nor seem to have had any other view, than to add one error to another, to sink his reason with alarms, and to overbear him with astonishment.

‘ When

‘ When they found he began to be disor-
 ‘ dered at the danger of our trade from ene-
 ‘ mies without naval forces, they easily dis-
 ‘ covered that, to make him the slave of
 ‘ France, nothing more was necessary than to
 ‘ add, that these bloody confederates had pro-
 ‘ jected an invasion; that they intended to
 ‘ add slavery to poverty, and to place the
 ‘ Pretender upon the throne.

‘ To be alarmed into vigilance had not
 ‘ been unworthy of the firmest and most sa-
 ‘ gacious minister; but to be frightened by
 ‘ such reports into measures which even an
 ‘ invasion could scarcely have justified, was,
 ‘ at least, a proof of a capacity not formed by
 ‘ nature for the administration of govern-
 ‘ ment.

‘ If it be required, what advantage was
 ‘ granted by this treaty to the French, and to
 ‘ what inconveniences it has subjected this
 ‘ nation, an answer may very justly be re-
 ‘ fused, till the minister or his apologists shall
 ‘ explain his conduct in the last war with
 ‘ Spain; and inform us why the plate fleet
 ‘ was spared, our ships sacrificed to the worms,
 ‘ and

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‘ and our admiral and his sailors poisoned in
 ‘ an unhealthy climate? Why the Spaniards,
 ‘ in full security, laughed at our armaments,
 ‘ and triumphed in our calamities?

‘ The lives of Hozier and his forces are
 ‘ now justly to be demanded from this man ;
 ‘ he is now to be charged with the murder of
 ‘ those unhappy men, whom he exposed to
 ‘ misery and contagion, to pacify, on one
 ‘ hand, the Britons, who called out for war,
 ‘ and to gratify, on the other, the French,
 ‘ who insisted that the Spanish treasures
 ‘ should not be seized.

‘ The minister who neglects any just op-
 ‘ portunity of promoting the power, or in-
 ‘ creasing the wealth, of his country, is to be
 ‘ considered as an enemy to his fellow-sub-
 ‘ jects; but what censure is to be passed upon
 ‘ him who betrays that army to a defeat, by
 ‘ which victory might have been obtained ;
 ‘ impoverishes the nation whose affairs he is
 ‘ entrusted to transact, by those expeditions
 ‘ which might enrich it; who levies armies
 ‘ only to be exposed to pestilence, and com-
 ‘ pels them to perish in sight of their enemies,
 ‘ without

' without molesting them ? It cannot, surely,
 ' be denied, that such conduct may justly
 ' produce a censure more severe than that
 ' which is intended by this motion ; and that
 ' he who has doomed thousands to the grave ;
 ' who has co-operated with foreign powers
 ' against his country ; who has protected its
 ' enemies, and dishonoured its arms ; should
 ' be deprived, not only of his honours, but
 ' his life ; that he should at least be stripped
 ' of those riches which he has amassed during
 ' a long series of successful wickedness ; and
 ' not barely be hindered from making new
 ' acquisitions, and increasing his wealth by
 ' multiplying his crimes.

' But no such penalties, Sir, are now re-
 ' quired ; those who have long stood up in
 ' opposition to him, give a proof, by the mo-
 ' tion, that they were not incited by personal
 ' malice ; since they are not provoked to pro-
 ' pose any treasonable censure, nor have re-
 ' commended what might be authorised by his
 ' own practice, an act of attainder, or a bill of
 ' pains and penalties. They desire nothing fur-
 ' ther than that the security of the nation may
 ' be restored, and the discontents of the peo-
 ' ple

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‘ ple pacified, by his removal from that trust
‘ which he has so long abused.

F

‘ The discontent of the people is, in itself,
‘ a reason for agreeing to this motion, which
‘ no rhetorical vindicator of his conduct will be
‘ able to counterbalance; for since it is neces-
‘ sary to the prosperity of the government,
‘ that the people should believe their interest
‘ favoured, and their liberties protected; since
‘ to imagine themselves neglected, and to be
‘ neglected in reality, must produce in them
‘ the same suspicions and the same distrust,
‘ it is the duty of every faithful subject, whom
‘ his station qualifies, to offer advice to his
‘ Sovereign, to persuade him, for the preserv-
‘ ation of his own honour, and the affection
‘ of his subjects, to remove from his councils
‘ that man whom they have long considered
‘ as the author of pernicious measures, and a
‘ favourer of arbitrary power.’

Upon a division, the motion was negatived
by 290 against 106.

CHAP. III.

A NEW PARLIAMENT.—MR. PITT RE-ELECTED.—THE MINISTER LOSES SEVERAL QUESTIONS.—RESIGNS, AND IS CREATED EARL OF ORFORD.—PARLIAMENT ADJOURNS.—SECRET NEGOTIATION WITH MR. PULTENEY.—THAT AFFAIR TRULY STATED.—LORD COBHAM AND HIS FRIENDS EXCLUDED.—THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS SETTLED BY THE EARL OF ORFORD.—STANZAS OF SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS EXPLAINED; AND THE CONDITION UPON WHICH SIR ROBERT WALPOLE BECAME MINISTER.—DUKE OF ARGYLL'S EXPRESSION TO MR. PULTENEY.—THE NATION DISSATISFIED.

THE minister having become exceedingly unpopular, and the leaders of the several parties having for some years been united against him, he had neither character nor interest left sufficient to secure a majority in the new Parliament, elected in the spring of 1741.

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1741.

In this Parliament, which met on the 4th of December 1741, Mr. *Pitt* was re-elected for Old Sarum. The first question which the minister lost was the nomination of chairman of the committee of privileges and elections, Dr. *Lee* being chosen by a majority of four, against Mr. *Earle*, who had been supported by himself. After losing some questions upon the decisions of the contested elections,

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III.

1742.

tions, he saw there was a confirmed majority against him; and therefore, on the 3d of February 1742, he resigned his employments, and was created Earl of *Orford*; the Parliament being at the same time adjourned, by the King's command, to the 18th of the same month.

His friends, notwithstanding his resignation, were very numerous. His personal influence, therefore, added to great experience and address, made him still formidable to his opponents, and enabled him to secure his personal safety, by counteracting their further designs against him. For this purpose he selected from amongst them such as were known to be the most ambitious of power; with these an immediate negotiation was commenced; in the result of which, his utmost wishes were accomplished. For (the opposition being composed of various and heterogeneous parties, whose interests were united for the purpose only of his destruction), the first rumour of a partial negotiation gave an alarm to their leaders; and exciting such jealousies and suspicions amongst them, as ended in a general disunion, relieved him from all ap-
pre-

prehenſions of danger or inconvenience from their future exertions.

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The negotiation was opened by a meſſage from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, requeſting to ſee Mr. *Pulteney* privately, at the houſe of Mr. *Stone*, his Grace's ſecretary. Mr. *Pulteney* declined this invitation, but conſented to receive the Duke at his own houſe, if Lord *Carteret*, afterwards Lord *Granville*, were allowed to be preſent at the conference. The condition was accepted, and the interview, in which the Duke was accompanied by Lord *Hardwicke*, took place the ſame evening.— His Grace began with informing him, that he was ſent by the King with an offer to place him at the head of the Treafury. Mr. *Pulteney* reſiſted the temptation for himſelf; but equally, or perhaps better, answered the purpoſe of Sir *Robert Walpole*, by propoſing his friend Lord *Carteret* for the office; the treaty being thus kept open, though the conference neceſſarily ended without any poſitive determination. Intelligence of their meeting, and a thouſand conjectures concerning the object of it, were induſtriouſly circulated through the town, and produced all the effects, both
on

First private
meeting at
Mr. Pul-
teney's.

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on public opinion, and on the spirits of opposition, which the most sanguine friends and partizans of Sir *Robert Walpole* could have wished.

Second private meeting at Mr. Pulkeney's.

A second meeting of the same parties, a few days afterwards, at the same rendezvous, opened the eyes of the most incredulous among the members of the opposition, and completed the dissolution of an association of interests, which a more immaculate minister than Sir *Robert Walpole* might have dreaded.

Difference between Lord Carteret and Lord Cobham.

A coolness having long subsisted between the Lords *Carteret* and *Cobham*, the selection of the former for those *private* conferences (which were to fix the boundaries, and lay the foundations, of the new arrangements) was such a sort of *marked exclusion* of the latter, as could not but give offence to him, and his parliamentary friends; amongst whom were Mr. *Pitt*, Mr. *Lyttelton*, the four *Grenvilles* (*Richard*, *George*, *James*, and *Thomas*), and Mr. *Waller*. Lord *Cobham*, whose private character was high, and whose reputation had been assailed, in being deprived of his post in the army, was not of a temper to bear

bear such treatment with indifference. His friends, who felt a large share of the contempt which was shewn towards him, gave him the strongest assurances of attachment and support; and immediately formed a separate party. In a short time they were joined by the Duke of *Argyll*, who, though he had taken the ordnance in the first moments of the change, quickly relented, and returned to his old friends, who in a few weeks were joined likewise by many high and respectable characters; who perceived that the nation, as well as themselves, had been deceived by a partial, imperfect, and consequently an inadequate change of the ministry.

Sir *Robert Walpole*, now Earl of *Orford*, not approving of the nomination of Lord *Carteret* as his successor at the treasury, prevailed on the King (since Mr. *Pulteney* had refused it) to insist upon the appointment of Lord *Wilmington*, who had been Sir *Robert's* president of the council from 1732*. It was some

Lord Wil-
mington
made first
Lord of the
Treasury.

* To this appointment Sir Charles Hanbury Williams alludes, in a beautiful stanza. Lord Wilmington had, upon the accession of George the Second, been offered the treasury,

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some triumph to those whose purposes had been frustrated, through the defection of Mr. *Pulteney*, to see him so soon baffled in his arrangement. The Duke of *Argyll* observed to him on the occasion, at a large meeting of their friends, at the *Fountain Tavern* in the Strand*, "That a grain of honesty was worth a cart-load of gold."

The

if he would undertake to *increase* the civil list from 700,000l. to 800,000l.; but being timid, he declined the offer; upon which it was next made to Sir Robert Walpole, who accepted it; and from that circumstance alone became minister.

Anecdote of
Sir R. Wal-
pole being
made minis-
ter.

Why did you cross God's good intent?

He made you for a President:

Back to that station go;

Nor longer act this farce of pow'r,

We know you miss'd the thing before,

And have not got it now.

Great meet-
ing at the
Fountain.

* This meeting was held on the 12th of February 1742.—There were near 300 members of both Houses of Parliament present. Amongst them were the following:—Dukes of Bedford and Argyll—Marquis of Caernarvon—Earls of Exeter, Berkshire, Chesterfield, Carlisle, Aylesbury, Shaftsbury, Litchfield, Oxford, Rockingham, Halifax, Stanhope, Macclesfield, Darnley, Barrymore, Granard—Viscounts Cobham, Falmouth, Limerick, Gage, Chetwynd—Lords Ward, Gower, Bathurst, Talbot, Strange, Andover, Guernsey, Quarendon, Percival—Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Charles Mordaunt, Sir Erasmus Philips, Sir Robert Grosvenor, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Roger Burgoyne, Sir John Hind Cotton, Sir Henry Northcote, Sir William

The Earl of *Harrington*, who had been Sir *Robert*'s secretary of state, was made president of the council. Lord *Carteret* accepted of Lord *Harrington*'s seals; and Mr. *Sandys* was made chancellor of the exchequer, with a new board of treasury. A new board of admiralty, with the Earl of *Winchelsea* at the head, were all the alterations of any consequence that were made.

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changes.

William Carew, Sir Myles Stapylton, Sir Hugh Smithson, Sir William Morris, Sir John Rushout, Sir Michael Newton, Sir Roger Twissden, Sir Robert Long, Sir Charles Wyndham, Sir Jermyn Davers, Sir James Dashwood, Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne, Sir Cordel Firebrace, Sir Edward Thomas, Sir Francis Dashwood, Sir Jacob Bouverie, Sir John Chapman, Sir Abraham Elton, Sir John Peachey, Sir William Courtney, Sir James Hamilton—Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gybbon, Mr. Doddington, Mr. Waller, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Fazakerley, Mr. Mellish, Mr. Alderman Heathcote, Mr. Bance, &c.

The purpose of the meeting was, to consider of what was expedient to be done in the present critical conjuncture. *But it was too late; the arrangements were settled before the meeting was called.*

It is to *this* meeting that Sir Charles Hanbury Williams alludes, in one of his odes to Mr. Pulteney; where, invoking the Muse to display his hero's merit, he says,

Then enlarge on his cunning and wit;
Say, how he harangued at the Fountain;
Say, how the old patriots were bit,
And a mouse was produc'd by a mountain.

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The disappointment of the nation, at this trifling change of a few men, was greater than can be described. Many of the most respectable parts of the community were provoked and exasperated to the use of the bitterest language, which could express their execration and abhorrence of the junction that was thus formed between Mr. *Pulteney* and the friends of the late minister.

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THE NEW MINISTRY CHARGED WITH HAVING BARGAINED FOR THE SAFETY OF THE EARL OF ORFORD.—MOTION FOR AN INQUIRY INTO THE EARL OF ORFORD'S CONDUCT.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH IN SUPPORT OF THAT MOTION.—MOTION LOST.—SECOND MOTION, LIMITING THE INQUIRY TO THE LAST TEN YEARS.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH IN SUPPORT OF THIS MOTION.—THE INQUIRY DEFEATED BY A PARLIAMENTARY MANŒUVRE.

A N important charge was brought against the new ministry by their opponents, who affirmed, in the most direct and positive terms, that Mr. *Pulteney* had first, and that his friends had afterwards, *bargained* with the court for the safety of the Earl of *Orford*; that it was expressly on that *condition* they were admitted into office; and upon that tenure *only*, that they held their employments; that such bargain was a sale of the public confidence, and a total dereliction of principle; that there was a treason against the people as well as against the crown, and that this was the superlative degree of that treason. And in order to put these assertions to the test, a motion was made in the House of Commons, on the 9th of March 1742, by Lord *Limerick*

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Motion. for
an inquiry
into Sir R.
Walpole's
conduct.

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(whose son was created Earl of *Clanbrassil*), for an inquiry into the conduct of the late administration, during the last *twenty* years. In support of this motion Mr. *Pitt* spoke in reply to Mr. *Pelham*, who had opposed it, and said,
 ‘ That it would considerably shorten the debate if gentlemen would keep close to the argument, and not run out into long harangues and flowers of rhetoric, which might be introduced upon any other subject as well as the present;’ to which Mr. *Pitt* replied :

Mr. Pitt’s
speech in
favour of the
inquiry.

‘ What the gentlemen of the other side mean by long harangues or flowers of rhetoric, I shall not pretend to guess; but if they make use of nothing of that kind, it is no very good argument of their sincerity; for a man who speaks from his heart, and is sincerely affected with the subject he speaks on, as every honest man must be when he speaks in the cause of his country; such a man, I say, falls naturally into expressions which may be called flowers of rhetoric, and therefore deserves as little to be charged with affectation as the most stupid serjeant at law that ever spoke for half a guinea a fee. For my part, I have heard nothing in fa-

' your of the question but what I thought
 ' very proper, and very much to the purpose.
 ' What has been said, indeed, on the other
 ' side of the question, especially the long
 ' justification that has been made of our late
 ' measures, I cannot think so proper upon this
 ' occasion, because this motion is founded
 ' upon the present melancholy situation of af-
 ' fairs, and upon the general clamour with-
 ' out doors, against the late conduct of our
 ' public servants; and either of these, with
 ' me, shall always be a sufficient reason for
 ' agreeing to a parliamentary inquiry; for,
 ' without such an inquiry, I cannot, even in
 ' my own mind, enter into the disquisition,
 ' whether our public measures have been
 ' right or not; because I cannot otherwise be
 ' furnished with the necessary lights for that
 ' purpose.

' But the hon. gentlemen who oppose this
 ' motion seem to mistake, I shall not say wil-
 ' fully, the difference between a motion for
 ' an impeachment, and a motion for an in-
 ' quiry. If any member of this House were
 ' to stand up in his place, and move for im-
 ' peaching a minister, he would be obliged

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' to charge him with some particular crimes
 ' or misdemeanors, and produce some proof,
 ' or to declare that he was ready to prove
 ' the facts; but any gentleman may move for
 ' an inquiry without any particular allega-
 ' tion, and without offering any proof, or
 ' declaring that he is ready to prove, because
 ' the very design of an inquiry is to find out
 ' particular facts and particular proofs. The
 ' general circumstances of things, or general
 ' rumours without doors, are a sufficient
 ' foundation for such a motion, and for the
 ' House agreeing to it when it is made. This,
 ' Sir, has always been the practice, and has
 ' been the foundation of almost all the in-
 ' quiries that were ever set on foot in this
 ' House, especially those that have been car-
 ' ried on by secret and select committees.—
 ' What other foundation was there for the
 ' secret committee appointed in the year
 ' 1694 (to go no further back), to inquire
 ' into, and inspect the books and accounts of
 ' the East India Company and Chamber of
 ' London?—Nothing but a general rumour
 ' that some corrupt practice had been made
 ' use of. What was the foundation of the
 ' inquiry in the year 1714? Did the
 ' hon.

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‘ hon. gentleman who moved for appointing
 ‘ that secret committee charge the former ad-
 ‘ ministration with any particular crimes?—
 ‘ Did he offer any proofs, or declare that he
 ‘ was ready to prove any thing? It is said, the
 ‘ measures pursued by that administration
 ‘ were condemned by a great majority of that
 ‘ House of Commons. What, Sir! were
 ‘ those ministers condemned before they
 ‘ were heard? Could any gentleman be so
 ‘ unjust as to pass sentence, even in his own
 ‘ mind, upon a measure before he had in-
 ‘ quired into it? He might perhaps dislike
 ‘ the treaty of Utrecht, but upon inquiry it
 ‘ might appear to be the best that could be
 ‘ obtained; and it has since been so far justi-
 ‘ fied, that it is at least as good, if not better,
 ‘ than any treaty we have made since that
 ‘ time.

‘ Sir, it was not the treaty of Utrecht, nor
 ‘ any measure that administration openly pur-
 ‘ sued, that was the foundation, or the cause,
 ‘ of an inquiry into their conduct. It was
 ‘ the loud complaints of a great party against
 ‘ them, and the general suspicion of their
 ‘ having carried on treasonable negotiations

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‘ in favour of the Pretender, and for defeating
 ‘ the Protestant succession; and the inquiry
 ‘ was set on foot in order to detect those
 ‘ practices, if there were any such, and to
 ‘ find proper evidence for convicting the of-
 ‘ fenders. The same argument holds with
 ‘ regard to the inquiry into the management
 ‘ of the South Sea Company in the year 1721.
 ‘ When that affair was first moved in the
 ‘ House, by Mr. *Neville*, he did not, he could
 ‘ not, charge those directors, or any of them,
 ‘ with any particular proofs. His motion,
 ‘ which was, That the directors of the South
 ‘ Sea Company should forthwith lay before
 ‘ the House an account of their proceedings,
 ‘ was founded upon the general circumstances
 ‘ of things, the distress brought upon the
 ‘ public credit of the nation, and the general
 ‘ and loud complaints without doors. This
 ‘ motion indeed, reasonable as it was, we
 ‘ know was opposed by our courtiers at that
 ‘ time, and in particular by two doughty
 ‘ brothers, who have been courtiers ever
 ‘ since; but their opposition raised such a
 ‘ warmth in the House, that they were glad
 ‘ to give it up, and never afterwards durst di-
 ‘ rectly oppose that inquiry. I wish I could

‘ now

‘ now see the same zeal for public justice. I
 ‘ am sure the circumstances of affairs deserve
 ‘ it. Our public credit was then, indeed,
 ‘ brought into distress; but now the nation
 ‘ itself, nay not only this nation, but all our
 ‘ friends upon the continent, are brought into
 ‘ the most imminent danger.

‘ This, Sir, is admitted, even by those
 ‘ who oppose this motion; and if they have
 ‘ ever lately conversed with those that dare
 ‘ speak their minds, they must admit, that
 ‘ the murmurs of the people against the con-
 ‘ duct of the administration, are now as ge-
 ‘ neral and as loud as ever they were upon
 ‘ any occasion; but the misfortune is, that
 ‘ gentlemen who are in office seldom con-
 ‘ verse with any but such as are in office, or
 ‘ want to be in office; and such men, let
 ‘ them think what they will, will always ap-
 ‘ plaud their superiors; consequently, gentle-
 ‘ men who are in administration, or in any
 ‘ office under it, can rarely know the voice
 ‘ of the people. The voice of this House
 ‘ was formerly, I shall grant, and always
 ‘ ought to be, the voice of the people. If
 ‘ new Parliaments were more frequent, and

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‘ few placemen, and no pensioners admitted,
‘ it would be so still; but if long Parliaments
‘ be continued, and a corrupt influence
‘ should prevail, not only at elections, but in
‘ this House, the voice of this House will
‘ generally be very different from, nay
‘ often directly contrary to, the voice of the
‘ people. However, as this is not, I believe,
‘ the case at present, I hope that there is a ma-
‘ jority of us who know what is the voice of
‘ the people; and if it be admitted by all, that
‘ the nation is at present in the utmost distress
‘ and danger, and admitted by a majority,
‘ that the voice of the people is loud against
‘ the late conduct of our administration, this
‘ motion must be agreed to, because I have
‘ shewn that these two circumstances, with-
‘ out any particular charge, have been the
‘ foundation of almost all parliamentary in-
‘ quiries.

‘ I shall readily admit, Sir, that we should
‘ have very little to do with the character or
‘ reputation of a minister, but as it al-
‘ ways does, and must, affect our So-
‘ vereign; as the people may become dis-
‘ affected as well as discontented, when
‘ they

‘ they find the King continues obstinately to
 ‘ employ a minister who they think oppresses
 ‘ them at home, and betrays them abroad.—
 ‘ We are, therefore, in duty to our Sovereign,
 ‘ obliged to inquire into the conduct of a mi-
 ‘ nister, when it becomes generally suspected
 ‘ by the people, in order that we may vindi-
 ‘ cate his character, if he appears innocent as
 ‘ to every thing laid to his charge, or that
 ‘ we may get him removed from the councils
 ‘ of our Sovereign, and condignly punished,
 ‘ if he appears guilty.

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‘ After having said thus much, Sir, I have
 ‘ no great occasion to answer what has been
 ‘ said, that no parliamentary inquiry ought
 ‘ ever to be set up, unless we are convinced
 ‘ that something has been done amiss. Sir,
 ‘ the very name given to this House of Par-
 ‘ liament shews the contrary. We are called
 ‘ The Grand Inquest of the Nation; and as
 ‘ such, it is our duty to inquire into every
 ‘ step of public management, either abroad or
 ‘ at home, in order to see that nothing has
 ‘ been done amiss. It is not necessary, upon
 ‘ every occasion, to establish a secret com-
 ‘ mittee. This is never necessary but when
 ‘ the

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‘ the affairs to be brought before them, or some
 ‘ of those affairs, are supposed to be of such a
 ‘ nature as ought to be kept a secret; but as ex-
 ‘ perience has shewn, that nothing but a spe-
 ‘ cial inquiry is ever made by a general com-
 ‘ mittee, or a committee of the whole House,
 ‘ I wish that all estimates and accompts,
 ‘ and many other affairs, were respectively
 ‘ referred to select committees. Their in-
 ‘ quiries would be more exact, and the re-
 ‘ ceiving of their reports would not up take so
 ‘ much of our time as is represented; but if
 ‘ it did, as it is our duty to make strict in-
 ‘ quiries into every thing relating to the
 ‘ public; as we assemble here for that pur-
 ‘ pose, we ought to do our duty before we
 ‘ break up; and I am sure his present Majesty
 ‘ would never put an end to any session till
 ‘ both Houses had fully performed their duty
 ‘ to their country.

‘ It is said by some gentlemen, that by
 ‘ this inquiry we shall be in danger of disco-
 ‘ vering the secrets of our government to our
 ‘ enemies. This argument, Sir, by proving
 ‘ too much, proves nothing at all. If it
 ‘ were admitted, it would always have been,
 ‘ and

' and for ever will be, an argument against
 ' our inquiring into any affair in which our
 ' government can be supposed to have a con-
 ' cern. Our inquiries would then be confined
 ' to the conduct of our little companies, or
 ' of inferior custom-house officers or excise-
 ' men; for if we should be so bold as to offer
 ' to inquire into the conduct of commissioners
 ' of great companies, it would be said the
 ' government had a concern in their conduct,
 ' and the secrets of government must not be
 ' divulged. Every gentleman must see that
 ' this would be the consequence of admitting
 ' such an argument; but besides, it is false in
 ' fact, and contrary to experience. We have
 ' had many parliamentary inquiries into the
 ' conduct of ministers of state, and yet I defy
 ' any one to shew that any state affair was
 ' thereby discovered, which ought to have
 ' been concealed, or that our affairs, either
 ' abroad or at home, ever suffered by such a
 ' discovery. If his Majesty should, by mes-
 ' sage, acquaint us, that some of the papers
 ' sealed up, and laid before us, required the ut-
 ' most secrecy, we might refer them to our com-
 ' mittee, with an instruction for them to order
 ' only two or three of the number to inspect
 ' such

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‘ such papers, and to report from them nothing but what they thought might be safely communicated to their whole number. By this method I hope the danger of a discovery would be effectually removed; therefore this danger cannot be a good argument against a parliamentary inquiry.

‘ The other objection, Sir, is really surprising, because it is founded upon a circumstance which, in all former times, has been admitted as a strong argument for an immediate inquiry. The hon. gentlemen are so ingenuous as to confess that our affairs, both abroad and at home, are at present in the utmost distress; but, say they, you ought to free yourselves from this distress, before you inquire how, or by what means, you were brought into it. Sir, according to this way of arguing, a minister that has plundered and betrayed his country, and fears being called to an account in Parliament, has nothing to do but to involve his country in a dangerous war, or some other great distress, in order to prevent an inquiry into his conduct; because he may be dead before that war is at an end, or that distress got over.—

‘ Thus,

‘ Thus, like the most villanous of all thieves,
‘ after he had plundered the house, he had
‘ nothing to do but to set it in a flame, that
‘ he may escape in the confusion. It is really
‘ astonishing to hear such an argument seri-
‘ ously urged in this House; but, say these
‘ gentlemen, if you found yourself upon a pre-
‘ cipice, would you stand to inquire how you
‘ was led there, before you considered how to
‘ get off? No, Sir; but if a guide had led me
‘ there, I should very probably be provoked
‘ to throw him over, before I thought of any
‘ thing else; at least I am sure, I should not
‘ trust to the same guide for bringing me off;
‘ and this, Sir, is the strongest argument
‘ that can be used for an inquiry.

‘ We have been, for these twenty years, under
‘ the guidance, I may truly say, of one man,
‘ of one single minister. We now at last find
‘ ourselves upon a dangerous precipice.—
‘ Ought not we then immediately to inquire
‘ whether we have been led upon this preci-
‘ pice by his ignorance or wickedness; and if
‘ by either, to take care not to trust to his
‘ guidance for bringing us off? This is an
‘ additional and a stronger argument for this
‘ inquiry

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inquiry than ever was urged for any former; for if we do not inquire, we shall probably remain under his guidance; because, though he be removed from the treasury board, he is not from the King's court, nor probably will, unless it be by our advice, or by sending him to a lodging at the other end of the town, where he cannot do so much harm to his country. Sir, the distress we are in at home is evidently owing to bad œconomy, and to our having been led into many unnecessary expences. The distress and danger we are in abroad, are evidently owing to the misconduct of our war with Spain, and to the little confidence put in our councils by our natural and ancient allies. This is so evident, that I should not have thought it necessary to have entered into any particular explanation, if an hon. gentleman on the other side had not entered into a particular justification of most of our late measures, both abroad and at home: But as he has done so, though not, in my opinion, quite to the purpose of the present debate, yet I hope I shall be excused making some remarks upon what he has said on that subject; beginning, as he did, with the measures

' measures taken for punishing the South Sea
' directors, and restoring public credit, after
' the terrible shock it met with in the year
' 1720.

' As those measures, Sir, were among the
' first exploits of our late, and I fear still, our
' present prime minister; and as the committee
' proposed, if agreed to, will probably
' consist of one-and-twenty, I wish the motion
' had been for one year further back, that the
' number of years might have been equal to
' the number of inquirers, and that it might
' have comprehended the first of those measures;
' for as it stands, it will not comprehend the
' methods taken for punishing the directors, nor the
' first regulation made for restoring public credit;
' and with regard to both, some practices might be discovered
' that would deserve a much severer punishment
' than any of those directors met with. Considering
' the many tricks and frauds made use of by the
' directors and their agents, for drawing people into
' their ruin, I am not a little surprised to hear it
' now said, that their punishment was ever thought
' too severe. Justice by the lump was an epithet

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‘ that given it, not because it was thought
 ‘ too severe, but because it was a piece of
 ‘ cunning made use of to screen the most
 ‘ heinous offenders, who, if they did not de-
 ‘ serve to be hanged, deserved at least to have
 ‘ that total ruin brought upon them, which
 ‘ they had brought upon many unthinking
 ‘ men; and therefore they very ill deserved
 ‘ those allowances which were made them by
 ‘ Parliament.

‘ Then, Sir, as to the restoring of public
 ‘ credit, its speedy restoration was founded
 ‘ upon the conduct of the nation, and not
 ‘ upon the wisdom or justice of the measures
 ‘ taken to restore it. Was it a wise method
 ‘ to remit to the South Sea Company the
 ‘ whole seven millions, or thereabouts, which
 ‘ they had solemnly engaged to pay to the
 ‘ public? It might as well be said, that a
 ‘ private man’s giving away a great part of
 ‘ his estate to those who no-way deserved it,
 ‘ would be a wise method of reviving or esta-
 ‘ blishing his credit: If these seven millions
 ‘ had been distributed among the poorer sort
 ‘ of annuitants, it would have been both ge-
 ‘ nerous and charitable; but to give it among
 ‘ the

‘ the proprietors in general, was neither ge-
 ‘ nerous nor just, because most of them de-
 ‘ served no favour from the public; for as the
 ‘ proceedings of the directors were authorised
 ‘ by general courts, those who were then the
 ‘ proprietors were in some measure accessary
 ‘ to the frauds of the directors, and therefore
 ‘ deserved to have been punished, rather than
 ‘ rewarded, as they really were, because
 ‘ every one of them who continued to hold
 ‘ stock in that company got near *50 per cent.*
 ‘ added to his capital, most part of which arose
 ‘ from the high price annuitants were by act
 ‘ of parliament obliged to take stock at, and
 ‘ was therefore a most flagrant piece of in-
 ‘ justice done to the annuitants. But we
 ‘ need not be at a loss for the true cause of
 ‘ this act of injustice, when we consider that
 ‘ a certain gentleman had a great many
 ‘ friends among the old stockholders, and few
 ‘ or none among the annuitants.

‘ Another act of injustice, which I believe
 ‘ we may ascribe to the same cause, relates to
 ‘ those who were engaged in heavy contracts
 ‘ for stock or subscriptions, many of whom
 ‘ groan under the load to this very day; for
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‘ after we had, by act of parliament, quite
 ‘ altered the nature, though not the name, of
 ‘ the stock they had bought, and made it
 ‘ much less valuable than it was when they
 ‘ engaged to pay a high price for it, I must
 ‘ think it an act of public injustice to leave
 ‘ them liable to be prosecuted at law for the
 ‘ whole money they had engaged to pay ; and
 ‘ I am sure it was not a method of restoring
 ‘ private credit, upon which our trade and
 ‘ navigation very much depend. If the same
 ‘ regulation had been made with regard to
 ‘ them as had been made with regard to those
 ‘ who had borrowed money of the company,
 ‘ or a sort of *uti possidetis* enacted, by declar-
 ‘ ing all such contracts void, so far as related
 ‘ to any future payments, it would not have
 ‘ been unjust, and was extremely necessary
 ‘ for quieting the minds of the people, for
 ‘ preventing their ruining one another at law,
 ‘ and for restoring credit between man and
 ‘ man, which is so necessary in a trading
 ‘ country ; but there is reason to suppose
 ‘ that a certain gentleman had many friends
 ‘ among the sellers in those contracts, and
 ‘ very few among the buyers, which was the
 ‘ reason why the latter could obtain little or
 ‘ no

' no relief or mercy, by any public law or
' regulation.

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' Then, Sir, with regard to the extraordi-
' nary grants made to the civil list, the very
' reason given by the hon. gentleman for
' justifying those grants, is a strong reason
' for an immediate inquiry. If there have
' arisen any considerable charges upon that
' revenue, let us see what those charges are;
' let us examine whether or no they were
' necessary. We have the more reason to do
' this, because the revenue settled upon his
' late Majesty's civil list, was at least as great
' as was settled either upon King William or
' Queen Anne. Besides, there is a general
' rumour without doors, that the civil list is
' now greatly in arrear, which, if true, ren-
' ders an inquiry absolutely necessary; for it
' is inconsistent with the honour and dignity
' of the crown of these kingdoms, to be in
' arrear to its tradesmen and servants; and it
' is the duty of this House to take care that
' the revenue which we have settled for sup-
' porting the honour and dignity of our crown,
' shall not be squandered or misapplied. If
' former Parliaments have failed in this respect,
O 2 ' they

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‘ they must be blamed, though they cannot
 ‘ be punished; but we ought now to atone
 ‘ for their neglect, and we may punish those,
 ‘ if they can be discovered, who were the
 ‘ cause of it.

‘ I come now, in course, to the excise
 ‘ scheme, which the hon. gentleman says
 ‘ ought to be forgiven, because it was easily
 ‘ given up. Sir, it was not easily given up.
 ‘ The promoter of that scheme did not easily
 ‘ give it up; he gave it up with sorrow, with
 ‘ tears in his eyes, when he saw, and not
 ‘ till he saw it impossible to carry it
 ‘ through the House *. Did not his majority
 ‘ decrease upon every division? It was almost
 ‘ certain, that if he had pushed it any further,
 ‘ the majority would have turned against him.
 ‘ His sorrow shewed his disappointment; and
 ‘ his disappointment shewed that his design
 ‘ was higher than that of preventing frauds
 ‘ in the customs. He was, at that time, as
 ‘ sensible of the influence of excise laws and
 ‘ excisemen with regard to elections, and of
 ‘ the great occasion he should have for that

* See this matter more fully and more accurately explained
 in Chapter XLI.

' sort of influence at the next general election,
 ' which was then approaching, that it is im-
 ' possible to suppose he had not that influence
 ' in view; and if he had, it was a most wicked
 ' attempt against our constitution; therefore
 ' he deserved the treatment he met with from
 ' the people. Perhaps there were none but
 ' what gentlemen are pleased to call mob con-
 ' cerned in burning him in effigy; but as the
 ' mob consists chiefly in children, journey-
 ' men, and servants, who speak the sentiments
 ' of their parents and masters, we may thence
 ' judge of the sentiments of the better sort of
 ' people.

' The hon. gentleman said, these were all
 ' the measures of a domestic nature that could
 ' be found fault with, because none other
 ' were mentioned in this debate. Sir, he has
 ' already heard a reason why no other wrong
 ' measures should be particularly mentioned in
 ' this debate. If it were necessary, many
 ' others might be mentioned. Is not the
 ' keeping up so numerous an army, in time
 ' of peace, to be found fault with? Is not the
 ' fitting out so many expensive squadrons, for
 ' no purpose, to be found fault with? Are

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‘ not the incroachments made upon the sinking fund, the reviving the salt duty, the rejecting many useful bills and motions in Parliament, and many other domestic measures, to be found fault with? The weakness, or wickedness, of these measures has often been demonstrated. Their ill consequences were at the respective times foretold, and those consequences are now become visible by our distress.

‘ Now, Sir, with regard to the foreign measures which the hon. gentleman has attempted to justify: The treaty of Hanover deserves, indeed, to be first mentioned, because from thence springs the danger which Europe is now exposed to; and it is impossible to assign a reason for our entering into that treaty, without supposing that we then resolved to be revenged on the Emperor for refusing to grant us some favour in Germany. It is in vain now to insist upon the secret engagements entered into by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, as the cause of that treaty. Time has fully shewn that there never were any such engagements; and his late Majesty’s speech from the throne cannot
‘ here

' here be admitted as any evidence of the fact.
 ' Every one knows, that in Parliament the
 ' King's speech is always considered as the
 ' speech of the minister; and surely a minister
 ' is not to be allowed to bring his own speech as
 ' an evidence of a fact in his own justification.
 ' If it be pretended, that his late Majesty had
 ' some sort of information that such engage-
 ' ments had been entered into, that very pre-
 ' tence furnishes an unanswerable argument
 ' for an inquiry; for as the information now
 ' appears to have been groundless, we ought
 ' to inquire into it; because, if it appears to
 ' be such information as ought to have been
 ' believed, that minister ought to be punished
 ' who advised his late Majesty to give credit
 ' to it, and who has precipitated the nation
 ' into the most pernicious measures in conse-
 ' quence of it.

' At the time this treaty was entered into,
 ' we wanted nothing from the Emperor upon
 ' our own account. The abolition of the
 ' Ostend company was a demand we had no
 ' right to make, nor was it essentially our in-
 ' terest to insist upon it, because that company
 ' would have been more prejudicial to the in-
 ' terests

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'terests of both the French and Dutch East-
 'India trades than to ours; and if it had been
 'a point that concerned us much, we might
 'probably have gained it, by acceding to the
 'Vienna treaty between the Emperor and
 'Spain, or by guaranteeing the Pragmatic
 'Sanction, which we afterwards did, in the
 'most absolute manner, without any confi-
 'deration at all. We wanted nothing from
 'Spain but a departure from the pretence she
 'had just begun, or, I believe, hardly begun, to
 'set up, in an express manner, with regard to
 'searching and seizing our ships in the American
 'seas; and this we did not obtain, or perhaps
 'did not desire to obtain, by the treaty of Seville.
 'By that treaty we obtained nothing; but we
 'made another step towards bringing in that
 'danger which Europe is now involved in, by
 'uniting the courts of France and Spain, and
 'laying a foundation for a new breach be-
 'tween the courts of Spain and Vienna.

'I shall grant, Sir, our ministers appear
 'to have been fond and diligent enough in
 'negotiating, and writing letters and memo-
 'rials to the court of Spain; but by all I have
 'looked into, it appears they never rightly
 'under-

‘ understood, or perhaps would not under-
‘ stand, the point they were negotiating about;
‘ and as they suffered themselves to be amused,
‘ as they say, with fair promises, for ten
‘ years together, whilst in the mean time our
‘ merchants were plundered, and our trade
‘ interrupted, we ought to inquire into this
‘ affair; for if it should appear they allowed
‘ themselves to be amused with such answers
‘ as no man of honour, in such circumstances,
‘ would have taken, nor any man of com-
‘ mon sense been amused with; they must
‘ have had some secret motive for allowing
‘ themselves to be thus imposed upon: This
‘ secret motive we may perhaps discover by
‘ an inquiry; and as it must be a wicked one,
‘ if it can be discovered they ought to be se-
‘ verely punished.

‘ But, in excuse for their conduct, it is
‘ said, our ministers had a laudable shyness of
‘ involving their country in a war. Sir, this
‘ shyness could not proceed from any regard
‘ to their country. It was involved in a war:
‘ Spain was carrying on a war against our
‘ trade, and that in the most insulting manner
‘ too, during the whole time of their negotia-
‘ tions.


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tions. It was this very shyness, or at least
 making the court of Spain too sensible of it,
 that at last made it absolutely necessary for
 us to begin a war on our side. If they had
 at first insisted properly and peremptorily
 upon an explicit answer, Spain would have
 expressly given up the pretence she had just
 set up; but by the long experience we al-
 lowed her, she found the fruits of that pre-
 tence so plentiful and savoury, that she
 thought them worth risking a war for; and
 the damage we had sustained became so con-
 siderable that it was worth contending for.
 Besides, the court of Spain was convinced,
 that whilst we were under such an admini-
 stration, nothing could provoke us to begin
 the war on our side; or if we did, it would
 be managed weakly and pusillanimously; and
 have we not since found that they formed a
 right judgment? Nothing, Sir, ever de-
 manded more a parliamentary inquiry than
 our conduct in the war. The only branch
 of it we have inquired into, we have already
 censured and condemned. Is not this a
 good reason for inquiring into every other
 branch? Disappointment and ill success
 have always, till now, occasioned a parlia-
 mentary

‘mentary inquiry. Inactivity, of itself, is a
 ‘sufficient cause for an inquiry. We have
 ‘now all these reasons concurring. Our ad-
 ‘mirals abroad desire nothing more; because
 ‘they are conscious that our inactivity and ill
 ‘success would appear not to be owing to
 ‘their conduct, but to the conduct of those
 ‘who sent them out.

‘I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking
 ‘notice of the two other foreign measures
 ‘mentioned by the hon. gentleman. Our con-
 ‘duct in the year 1734, with regard to the
 ‘war between the Emperor and France, may
 ‘be easily accounted for, though not easily
 ‘excused. Ever since the last accession of
 ‘our late minister to power, we seem to have
 ‘had an enmity to the House of Austria.—
 ‘Our guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction
 ‘was an effect of that enmity, because we en-
 ‘tered into it when, as hath since appeared,
 ‘we had no mind to perform our engage-
 ‘ment; and by that false guarantee induced
 ‘the Emperor to admit the introduction of
 ‘the Spanish troops into Italy, which he
 ‘would not otherwise have done. The pre-
 ‘parations we made in that year, the armies
 ‘we

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' we raised, and the fleet we fitted out, were
 ' not to guard against the event of the war
 ' abroad, but against the event of the ensuing
 ' election at home. The new commissions,
 ' the promotions, and the money laid out in
 ' these preparations, were of excellent use at
 ' the time of a general election, and in some
 ' measure atone for the loss of the excise
 ' scheme; but France and her allies were
 ' well convinced that we would in no event
 ' declare against them, otherwise they would
 ' not have dared to attack the Emperor at
 ' that time; for Muscovy, Poland, Germany,
 ' and Britain, would have been by much an
 ' over-match for them. It was not our pre-
 ' parations that set bounds to the ambition of
 ' France, but her getting all she wanted at
 ' that time for herself, and all she desired for
 ' her allies. Her own prudence directed her
 ' that it was not then a proper time to push
 ' her views further; because she did not
 ' know but that the spirit of this nation
 ' might get the better, as it has since done
 ' with regard to Spain, of the spirit of our
 ' administration; and if this should have hap-
 ' pened, the House of Austria was then in
 ' such a condition, that our assistance, even
 ' though

‘ though late, would have been of effectual
‘ service.

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‘ I am surpris'd, Sir, to hear the hon.
‘ gentleman now say, that we gave up no-
‘ thing, or got any thing by an infamous
‘ convention with Spain. Did we not give
‘ up the freedom of our trade and navigation,
‘ by submitting it to be regulated by plenipo-
‘ tentiaries? Can freedom be regulated, with-
‘ out being confined, and consequently in
‘ some part destroyed? Did not we give up
‘ Georgia, or some part of it, by submitting
‘ to have new limits settled by plenipotential-
‘ ries? Did we not give up all the reparation
‘ of honour we had so just a title to insist on?
‘ Did we not give up all reparation of the
‘ damage we had suffered, amounting to five
‘ or six hundred thousand pounds, for the
‘ paltry sum of twenty-seven thousand pounds?
‘ For this was all that Spain promised to pay,
‘ after deducting the sixty-eight thousand
‘ pounds which we, by the declaration an-
‘ nexed to that treaty, allowed her to insist
‘ on having from our South Sea company,
‘ under the penalty of stripping them of the
‘ Asiento contract, and all the privileges they
‘ were

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‘ were thereby intitled to. Even this sum of
‘ twenty-seven thousand pounds, or more,
‘ they had before acknowledged to be due,
‘ on account of ships they allowed to have
‘ been unjustly taken, and had actually sent
‘ orders for their restitution; so that by this
‘ infamous treaty we got nothing, and gave
‘ up every thing; and therefore, in my opi-
‘ nion, the honour of this nation can never
‘ be retrieved, unless the advisers and authors
‘ of it be censured and punished, which can-
‘ not regularly be done without a parliament-
‘ ary inquiry.

‘ By these, and the like wicked, or weak
‘ and pusillanimous measures, we are become
‘ the ridicule of every court in Europe, and
‘ have lost the confidence of all our ancient
‘ allies. By these we have encouraged France
‘ to extend her ambitious views, and now at
‘ last to attempt carrying them into execu-
‘ tion. By bad œconomy and extravagance
‘ in our domestic measures, we have brought
‘ ourselves into such distress at home, that we
‘ are almost utterly incapable of entering
‘ into a war. By weakness, or wickedness,
‘ in our foreign measures, we have brought
‘ the

the affairs of Europe into such distress, that it is almost impossible for us to avoid entering into a war. By these means we have been brought upon a dangerous precipice, on which we now find ourselves; and shall we trust our being led safely off to the same guide who has led us on? Sir, it is impossible for him to lead us off; it is impossible for us to get off, without first recovering that confidence among our ancient allies, which this nation formerly used to have. This we cannot do, as long as they suppose that our councils are influenced by our late minister; and this they will suppose as long as he has access to the King's closet, and his conduct remains uninquired into, and uncensured. It is not, therefore, a revenge for past sufferings, but a desire to prevent future, that makes me so sanguine for this inquiry. His punishment, let it be ever so severe, will be but a small atonement to his country for what is past. But his impunity will be the source of many future miseries to Europe, as well as to his native country. Let us be as merciful as we will, as any man can reasonably desire, when we come to pronounce sentence; but sentence we must pronounce; and

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‘ and for this purpose we must inquire, unless we are resolved to sacrifice our own liberties, and the liberties of Europe, to the preservation of one guilty man.’

The House divided : For the motion, 242
—against it, 244.

The fate of this motion was called a confirmation of the veracity of the charge brought against the new ministry, that they had compounded for the safety of the late minister.—Mr. *Pulteney* was extremely mortified at this miscarriage. And as soon as Mr. *Sandys*, and some others, were returned from their re-elections, the motion was made again, on the 23d of March, by Lord *Limerick*; but it was confined to only the last *ten* years of the late administration. Mr. *Pitt* spoke in support of this motion, although altered to half the period. His speech, on this occasion, was in reply to Mr. *George Cooke*, of Harefield, who was just come into Parliament. He began with saying:

‘ As the hon. gentleman who spoke last,
‘ against the motion, has not been long in the
‘ House,

House, one ought in charity to believe there is some sincerity in the professions he makes of his, being ready to agree to a parliamentary inquiry, when he sees cause, and a convenient time for it; but if he knew how often those professions have been made by those who, on all occasions, have opposed every kind of inquiry, he would save himself the trouble of making any such, because they are believed to be sincere by very few, within doors or without. He may, it is true, have no occasion, upon his own account, to be afraid of an inquiry of any sort; but when a gentleman has contracted a friendship, or any of his near relations have contracted a friendship for one who may be brought into danger by an inquiry, it is very natural to suppose that such a gentleman's opposition to an inquiry does not proceed entirely from motives of a public nature; and if that gentleman follows the advice of some of his friends, I very much question if he will ever see cause, or a convenient time, for an inquiry into the late conduct of our public affairs. As a parliamentary inquiry must always be founded upon suspicions, as well as facts, or manifest crimes,

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‘ crimes, it will always be easy to find reasons:
‘ or pretences for averring those suspicions to
‘ be groundless; and upon the principle that
‘ a parliamentary inquiry must necessarily lay
‘ open the secrets of our government, no
‘ time can ever be proper or convenient for
‘ such an inquiry, because it is impossible to
‘ suppose a time when our government can
‘ have no secrets of importance to the nation.

‘ This, Sir, would be a most convenient
‘ doctrine for ministers, because it would put
‘ an end to all parliamentary inquiries into
‘ the conduct of our public affairs; and
‘ therefore, when I hear it urged, and so
‘ much insisted upon by a certain set of gen-
‘ tlemen in this House, I must suppose their
‘ hopes to be very extensive. I must sup-
‘ pose them to expect that they and their
‘ posterity will for ever continue to be mi-
‘ nisters; which, if possible, would be more
‘ fatal to it than their having so long con-
‘ tinued to be so. But this doctrine has been
‘ so often contradicted by experience, that I
‘ am surprised to hear gentlemen insist upon
‘ it. Even this very session has afforded us
‘ a convincing proof how little foundation
‘ there

' there is for saying that a parliamentary in-
 ' quiry must necessarily discover the secrets of
 ' our government. Surely in a war with
 ' Spain, which must be carried on chiefly by
 ' sea, if our government have any secrets, the
 ' lords of the admiralty must be entrusted
 ' with the most important of them; yet we
 ' have, in this very session, and without any
 ' secret committees, made an inquiry into the
 ' conduct of the lords commissioners of our
 ' admiralty. We have not only inquired into
 ' their conduct, but we have censured it in
 ' such a manner as hath put an end to the
 ' same commissioners being any longer en-
 ' trusted with that branch of the public busi-
 ' ness. Has that inquiry discovered any of
 ' the secrets of our government? On the
 ' contrary, the committee found they had no
 ' occasion to probe into any of the secrets of
 ' government. They found cause enough
 ' for censure without it; and none of the
 ' commissioners pretended to justify their con-
 ' duct by papers containing secrets which
 ' ought not to be discovered.

' This, Sir, is so recent and so strong a
 ' proof of there being no necessary connec-
 ' tion

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tion between a parliamentary inquiry and a discovery of secrets which it behoves the nation to conceal, that I hope gentlemen will no longer insist upon this danger as an argument against the inquiry now proposed, which, of all others, is the least liable to objection. The first commissioner of the treasury has nothing to do with the application of secret service money: He is only to take care that it be regularly issued from his office, and that no more shall be issued upon that head, than according to the then conjuncture of affairs may seem to be necessary. As to the particular application, it properly belongs to the secretaries of state, or such other persons as his Majesty shall employ; so that we cannot suppose the inquiry proposed will discover any secrets relating to the application of that money, unless the noble lord has acted as secretary of state, as well as first commissioner of the treasury; or unless a great part of the money drawn out for secret services, has been delivered to himself, or to persons employed by him, and applied by him or them towards gaining a corrupt influence in Parliament, or at elections. Both these,

‘ these, indeed, he is most grievously suspected of; and both are secrets which it behoves him very much to have concealed; but it equally behoves the nation to have them both revealed. His country and he are, I grant, in this cause, equally, though oppositely, concerned; for the safety or ruin of one or the other depends upon the fate of the question; and, in my opinion, the violent opposition made to this motion adds great strength to the suspicion.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that the noble lord whose conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was one of his Majesty’s most hon. privy council, and that consequently he must have had a share at least in advising all the measures which have been pursued, both abroad and at home; but I cannot admit, that therefore an inquiry into his conduct must necessarily occasion a discovery of any secrets that may be of dangerous consequence to the nation; because we are not to inquire into the measures themselves, or into the wisdom and uprightness of them, and consequently can have no necessity to search into any of the government’s secrets

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‘ relating

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relating to them. This has nothing to do with an inquiry into his conduct; but there are several suspicions spread abroad relating to his conduct as a privy counsellor, which, if true, would be of the last importance to the nation to have discovered. It has been strongly asserted, that he was not only a privy counsellor, but had usurped the whole and sole direction of his Majesty's privy council. It has been asserted, that he gave the Spanish court the first hint of the unjust claim they afterwards set up against our South Sea company, which was one of the chief causes of the war between the two nations. And it has been asserted, that this very minister has given advice to the French what measures to take upon several occasions, in order to bring our court into their measures; particularly, that he advised them to send the numerous army they have this last summer sent into Westphalia. What truth there is in these assertions, I shall not pretend to answer. The facts are of such a nature, and they must have been perpetrated with so much caution and secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to light, even by a parliamentary inquiry; but

the

‘ the very suspicion is ground enough for
 ‘ setting up such an inquiry, and for carrying
 ‘ it on with the utmost strictness and vigour ;
 ‘ which leads me to consider the cause we
 ‘ now have for an inquiry.

‘ Whatever my opinion of past measures
 ‘ may be, I shall never be so vain or bigotted
 ‘ to my own opinion, as, without any in-
 ‘ quiry, to determine against the majority of my
 ‘ countrymen. If I found the public measures
 ‘ generally condemned, let my private opi-
 ‘ nion of them be never so favourable, I
 ‘ should be for an inquiry, in order to con-
 ‘ vince the people of their error, or at least
 ‘ to furnish myself with the most authentic
 ‘ arguments for the opinion I have embraced.
 ‘ The desire of bringing other people into
 ‘ our sentiments is so natural to mankind, that
 ‘ I shall always suspect the candour of those
 ‘ who, in politics or religion, are against a
 ‘ free inquiry. Besides, Sir, when the com-
 ‘ plaints of the people are general against an
 ‘ administration, or against any particular
 ‘ minister, an inquiry is a duty we owe to
 ‘ our Sovereign as well as the people. We
 ‘ meet here to communicate to our Sovereign

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‘ the sentiments of his people. We meet here
‘ to redress the grievances of the people. By
‘ performing our duty in these two respects,
‘ we shall always be able to establish the
‘ throne of our Sovereign in the hearts of his
‘ people, and to prevent the people’s being
‘ led into insurrections or rebellions by misre-
‘ presentations or false surmises. When the
‘ people complain, they must be in the right
‘ or in the wrong. If they are in the right,
‘ we are in duty bound to inquire into the
‘ conduct of the ministers, and punish those
‘ who shall appear to have been the most
‘ guilty. If the people are in the wrong, we
‘ ought to inquire into the conduct of our
‘ ministers, in order to convince the people
‘ that they have been misled. We ought
‘ not, therefore, in any question about an in-
‘ quiry, to be governed by our own senti-
‘ ments. We must be governed by the sen-
‘ timents of our constituents, if we are re-
‘ solved to perform our duty, either as true
‘ representatives of the people, or as faithful
‘ messengers to our Sovereign. I will agree
‘ with the hon. gentleman, that if we are
‘ convinced, or suspect the public measures
‘ to be wrong, we ought to inquire into them,
‘ even

' even though they are not much complained
 ' of by the people without doors; but I can-
 ' not agree with him in thinking, that not-
 ' withstanding the administration, or a mi-
 ' nister's being complained of by the people
 ' in general without doors, we ought not to
 ' inquire into his conduct, unless we are our-
 ' selves convinced that his measures have
 ' been wrong. Without an inquiry we can
 ' no more determine this question, than a
 ' judge can declare a man innocent of any
 ' crime laid to his charge, without a trial.—
 ' Common fame is a sufficient ground for an
 ' inquiry at common law; and, for the
 ' same reason, the general voice of the peo-
 ' ple of England ought always to be looked
 ' on as a sufficient ground for a parliamentary
 ' inquiry.

' But, say gentlemen, what is this minister
 ' accused of? What crime is laid to his charge?
 ' For, unless some misfortune is said to have
 ' happened, or some crime to have been com-
 ' mitted, no inquiry ought to be set on
 ' foot. Sir, the ill posture of our affairs,
 ' both abroad and at home, the melancholy
 ' situation we are in; the distresses we
 ' are

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‘ are now reduced to; are sufficient causes
 ‘ for an inquiry, even supposing he were
 ‘ accused of no particular crime or miscon-
 ‘ duct. The nation lies bleeding, perhaps
 ‘ expiring. The balance of power has re-
 ‘ ceived a deadly blow. Shall we acknow-
 ‘ ledge this to be the case, and shall we not
 ‘ inquire whether it has happened by mis-
 ‘ chance, or by the misconduct, perhaps the
 ‘ malice prepenſe, of our miniſter here at
 ‘ home? Before the treaty of Utrecht, it was
 ‘ the general opinion, that in a few years of
 ‘ peace we ſhould be able to pay off moſt of
 ‘ our debts. We have now been very near
 ‘ thirty years in profound peace, at leaſt we
 ‘ have never been engaged in any war but
 ‘ what we unneceſſarily brought upon our-
 ‘ ſelves, and yet our debts are near as great
 ‘ as they were when that treaty was con-
 ‘ cluded. Is not this a miſfortune, and ſhall
 ‘ we make no inquiry how this miſfortune
 ‘ has happened?

‘ I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that no in-
 ‘ quiry ought be ſet on foot unleſs ſome pub-
 ‘ lic crime be known to have been committed.
 ‘ The ſuſpicion of any crime’s having been
 ‘ actually

' actually committed, has always been
 ' deemed a sufficient reason for setting up an
 ' inquiry. Is there not a suspicion that the
 ' public money has been applied towards
 ' gaining a corrupt influence at elections? Is
 ' it not become a common expression to say,
 " The floodgates of the treasury are opened
 ' against a general election?" I shall desire
 ' no more than that every gentleman, who
 ' is conscious of this having been done, either
 ' for or against him, would give his vote in
 ' favour of this motion. Will any gentle-
 ' man say this is not a crime, when even pri-
 ' vate corruption has such high penalties in-
 ' flicted upon it by express statute? A mini-
 ' ster that commits this crime, and makes use
 ' of the public money for that purpose, adds
 ' breach of trust to the crime of corruption;
 ' and as the crime, when committed by him,
 ' is of much more dangerous consequence
 ' than when committed by a private man, it
 ' becomes more properly the object of a par-
 ' liamentary inquiry, and ought to be more
 ' severely punished. The hon. gentleman
 ' may much more reasonably tell us that
 ' *Porteus* was never murdered by the mob at
 ' Edinburgh, because no discovery of his mur-
 ' derers

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' derers could ever yet be made, notwith-
 ' standing the high reward, as well as pardon,
 ' offered; than to tell us, we cannot suppose
 ' our minister ever, by himself or his agents,
 ' corrupted an election, because no informa-
 ' tion has yet been brought against him; for
 ' nothing but a pardon, on convicting the
 ' offender, has ever yet been offered in this
 ' case; and how could any informer expect
 ' such a pardon, much less a reward, when he
 ' knew the very man against whom he was
 ' to inform had not only the distribution of
 ' all public rewards, but the packing of a
 ' jury or parliament against him? Sir, whilst
 ' such a minister preserves the favour of the
 ' crown, and thereby the exercise of its power,
 ' we can never expect such an information.
 ' Even malice itself can never provoke such
 ' an information; because, like all other sorts
 ' of impotent malice, it will rebound upon the
 ' heart that conceived it.

' This shews the insignificance of the act
 ' mentioned by the hon. gentleman, with re-
 ' gard to that sort of corruption which is
 ' called bribery; and with regard to the other
 ' sort of corruption, which consists in giving



' or taking away those posts, pensions, or
 ' preferments, which depend upon the arbitrary will of the crown; this act is still
 ' more insignificant, because it is not necessary; it would even be ridiculous in a minister to tell any man that he gave or refused him a post, pension, or preferment, on account of his voting for or against any ministerial measure in Parliament, or any ministerial candidate at an election. If he makes it his constant rule never to give a post, pension, or preferment, but to those who vote for his measures and his candidates, and makes a few examples of dismissing those who vote otherwise, it will have the same effect as when he declares it openly.— Will any gentleman say, that this has not been the practice of the minister whose conduct is now proposed to be inquired into? Has he not declared, in the face of this House, that he will continue to make this his practice? And will not this have the same effect as if he went separately and distinctly to every particular man, and told him, in express terms; " Sir, if you vote for such a measure, or such a candidate, you shall have the first preferment in the gift of
 ' the

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‘ the crown; if you vote otherwise, you must
 ‘ not expect to keep what you have.” Gen-
 ‘ tlemen may deny the sun shines at noon-
 ‘ day; but if they have any eyes, and do not
 ‘ wilfully shut them, or, turn their backs to-
 ‘ wards him, I am sure no man will believe
 ‘ they are ingenuous in what they say; and
 ‘ therefore I think the hon. gentleman was
 ‘ in the right who endeavoured to justify this
 ‘ practice. It was more candid than to deny
 ‘ it; but as his arguments have been already
 ‘ fully answered, I shall add nothing upon
 ‘ that subject.

‘ Gentlemen cry out, What! will you
 ‘ take from the crown the power of preferring
 ‘ or cashiering the officers of our army? No,
 ‘ Sir; this is neither the design, nor will it be
 ‘ the effect, of our agreeing to this motion.
 ‘ The King has, at present, an absolute
 ‘ power of preferring or cashiering the officers
 ‘ of our army. It is a prerogative he may
 ‘ make use of for the benefit or safety of the
 ‘ public; but, like other prerogatives, it may
 ‘ be made a wrong use of; and the minister
 ‘ is answerable to Parliament when it is. When
 ‘ an officer is preferred, or cashiered, upon
 ‘ the

' the motive of his voting for or against any
 ' court measure or candidate, it is a wrong
 ' use of this prerogative, for which the mi-
 ' nister is answerable. We may judge from
 ' circumstances, or outward appearances.—
 ' From these we may condemn; and I hope
 ' we have still a power to punish any mi-
 ' nister that will dare to advise the King to
 ' prefer or cashier upon such a motive. Whe-
 ' ther this prerogative ought to remain as it
 ' is, without any limitation, is a question
 ' that has nothing to do in this debate; but I
 ' must observe, that the argument made use
 ' of for it might with equal weight be made use
 ' of for giving our King an absolute power
 ' over every man's property; for a large pro-
 ' perty will always give the possessor a com-
 ' mand over a great number of men, whom
 ' he may arm and discipline if he pleases. I
 ' know of no law for restraining it. I hope
 ' there never will be any such; and I wish
 ' our gentlemen of estates would make more
 ' use of this power than they do, because it
 ' would contribute towards keeping our do-
 ' mestic as well as our foreign enemies in awe.
 ' For my part, I think a gentleman who has
 ' earned his commission by his services (in his

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‘ military capacity I mean), or bought it with
 ‘ his money, has as much a property in it as
 ‘ any man has in his estate, and ought to
 ‘ have it as well secured by the laws of his
 ‘ country. Whilst it remains at the absolute
 ‘ will of the crown, he must be a slave to the
 ‘ minister, unless he has some other estate to
 ‘ depend on; and if the officers of our army
 ‘ long continue in that state of slavery in
 ‘ which they are at present, I am afraid it
 ‘ will make slaves of us all.

‘ The only method we have for preventing
 ‘ this fatal consequence, as the law now
 ‘ stands, is to make the best and most con-
 ‘ stant use of the power we have, as members
 ‘ of this House, to prevent any minister’s
 ‘ daring to advise the King to make a bad use
 ‘ of his prerogative; and as there is such a
 ‘ strong suspicion that this minister has done
 ‘ so, we ought certainly to inquire into it,
 ‘ not only for the sake of punishing him, if
 ‘ guilty, but as a terror to all future ministers.

‘ This, Sir, may therefore be justly
 ‘ reckoned among the many other sufficient
 ‘ causes for the inquiry proposed; and the
 ‘ suf-

‘ fufpicion of the civil lift’s being greatly in
 ‘ debt, is another; for if it is, it muft either
 ‘ have been mifapplied or profufely thrown
 ‘ away, which it is our duty both to prevent
 ‘ and punifh. It is inconfiftent with the ho-
 ‘ nour of this nation to have our King ftand
 ‘ indebted to his fervants or tradefmen, who
 ‘ may be ruined by a delay of payment. The
 ‘ Parliament has provided fufficiently for pre-
 ‘ venting this difhonour being brought upon
 ‘ the nation; and if the provifion we have
 ‘ made fhould be mifapplied or lavifhed, we
 ‘ muft fupply the deficiency; we ought to
 ‘ do it, whether the King makes any applica-
 ‘ tion for that purpofe or no; and the reason
 ‘ is very plain, becaufe we ought firft to in-
 ‘ quire into the management of that revenue,
 ‘ and punifh thofe who have occafioned the
 ‘ deficiency. They will certainly chufe to
 ‘ leave the creditors of the crown and the ho-
 ‘ nour of the nation in a ftate of fuffering,
 ‘ rather than advife the King to make an ap-
 ‘ plication which will bring their conduct
 ‘ into queftion, and themfelves probably to
 ‘ condign punifhment. Befide this, Sir,
 ‘ there is at prefent another reason ftill
 ‘ ftronger for promoting an inquiry. As
 ‘ there

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‘ there is a great suspicion that the public
‘ money has been applied towards corrupting
‘ voters at elections, and members when
‘ elected, if the civil list be in debt, it gives
‘ reason to presume that some part of this re-
‘ venue has, under the pretence of secret ser-
‘ vice money, been applied to that wicked
‘ purpose.

‘ I shall conclude, Sir, with a few remarks
‘ upon the last argument made use of against
‘ the inquiry proposed. It has been said, that
‘ the minister delivered in his accounts annu-
‘ ally; that those accounts have been annually
‘ passed and approved of by Parliament; and
‘ that therefore it would be unjust to call him
‘ now to a general account, because the
‘ vouchers may now be lost, or many expen-
‘ sive transactions have slipped out of his memory.
‘ ’Tis true, Sir, estimates and accounts have
‘ been annually delivered in. The forms of
‘ proceeding made that necessary; but were
‘ any of those estimates or accounts ever pro-
‘ perly inquired into? Were not all questions
‘ for that purpose rejected by the minister’s
‘ friends in Parliament? Has not the Parlia-
‘ ment always taken them upon trust, and
‘ passed

' passed them without examination? Can such
 ' a superficial passing, to call it no worse, be
 ' deemed a reason for not calling him to a new
 ' and general account? If the steward to an in-
 ' fant's estate should annually, for twenty
 ' years together, deliver in his accounts to the
 ' guardians; and if the guardians, through
 ' negligence, or for a share of the plunder,
 ' should annually pass his accounts without
 ' any examination, or at least without any ob-
 ' jection; would that be a reason for saying,
 ' that it would be unjust in the infant to call
 ' his steward to an account when he came of
 ' age? especially if that steward had built and
 ' furnished sumptuous palaces, and had,
 ' during the whole time, lived at a much
 ' greater expence than his visible income
 ' could afford, and yet nevertheless had
 ' amassed great riches. The public, Sir, is
 ' always in a state of infancy; therefore no
 ' prescription can be pleaded against it, nor
 ' even a general release, if there appears the
 ' least cause to suspect that it was surrepti-
 ' tiously obtained. Public vouchers ought
 ' always to remain upon record; nor ought
 ' there to be any public expence without a
 ' proper voucher; therefore, the case of the

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‘ public is still stronger than that of any in-
 ‘ fant. Thus the hon. gentleman who made
 ‘ use of this objection must see of how little
 ‘ avail it can be in the case now before us;
 ‘ and consequently I hope we shall have his
 ‘ concurrence in the question.’

This motion was indeed agreed to, and a committee was appointed; but the measure was rendered abortive by a parliamentary manœuvre. Several of the persons brought before the committee to be examined, refused to answer, urging, that by their answers they might possibly criminate themselves. This objection being reported to the House, a bill was immediately brought in and passed, to indemnify all persons for the discoveries they made before the committee. When this bill came into the House of Lords, Lord *Carteret* opposed it most violently, and the bill was thrown out. Some of the ministerial party in the House of Commons affected to be very angry; but all proceedings dropt, and the Earl of *Orford* continued undisturbed during the remainder of his life.

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LORD CARTERET'S ASCENDENCY IN THE CLOSET.—ENTERS INTO THE GERMAN MEASURES.—TAKES THE HANOVERIAN TROOPS INTO BRITISH PAY.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THAT MEASURE.—DEATH OF LORD WILMINGTON, AND MR. PELHAM'S ACCESSION TO THE TREASURY.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THE ADDRESS, AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SESSION, AFTER THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST VOTING MONEY FOR A BRITISH ARMY TO SERVE IN FLANDERS.—THE WHOLE KINGDOM APPLAUDS HIS OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT.—THE DUCHESS DOWAGER OF MARLBOROUGH LEAVES HIM A HANDSOME LEGACY.

LORD *Carteret*, by adopting the politics of the closet, became a favourite in it. He entered warmly into the measures of the continent, particularly those in support of the House of Austria against France, for which purpose he took 16,000 Hanoverian troops into British pay, and marched them into the Low Countries. Upon the motion for granting the money for the payment of these troops, on the 10th of December 1742, there was a long debate, in which Mr. *Pitt* spoke against the motion, in reply to Mr. *Henry Fox*, at that time surveyor of the board of works, and afterwards Lord *Holland*, who had spoken for the motion:

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‘ If the gentlemen who have spoke in support of this motion are, as they pretend, determined to abandon their present sentiments as soon as any better measures are proposed, the ministry will quickly be deprived of their ablest defenders; for I think the measures which have hitherto been pursued, so weak and pernicious, that scarcely any alteration can be proposed that will not be for the advantage of the nation.

‘ They have already been informed there was no necessity for hiring auxiliary troops, since it does not yet appear that either justice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the continent, that there was any need of forming an army in the Low Countries, or that in order to form an army auxiliaries were necessary.

‘ But, not to dwell upon disputable questions, I think it may be justly concluded, that the measures of our ministry have been ill concerted, because it is undoubtedly wrong to squander the public money without effect, and to pay armies only to be a shew to our friends, and a jest to our enemies.

‘ The

‘ The troops of Hanover, whom we are
 ‘ now expected to pay, marched into the Low
 ‘ Countries indeed, and still remain in the
 ‘ same places; they marched to the place
 ‘ most distant from the enemy, least in dan-
 ‘ ger of an attack, and most strongly fortified,
 ‘ if any attack had been designed; nor have
 ‘ any claim to be paid, but that they left
 ‘ their own country for a place of greater se-
 ‘ curity.

‘ It is always reasonable to judge of the fu-
 ‘ ture by the past, and therefore it is probable
 ‘ that the services of these troops will not, next
 ‘ year, be of equal importance with that for
 ‘ which they are now to be paid: And I shall
 ‘ not be surprised, though the opponents of
 ‘ the ministry should be challenged, after such
 ‘ another glorious campaign, to propose better
 ‘ men, and told that the money of this nation
 ‘ cannot be more properly employed than in
 ‘ hiring Hanoveriens to eat and sleep.

‘ But to prove yet more particularly that better
 ‘ measures may be taken, and that more use-
 ‘ ful troops may be retained, and that there-
 ‘ fore the hon. gentlemen may be expected

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‘ to quit those to whom they now adhere, I
 ‘ shall shew that, in hiring the forces of
 ‘ Hanover, we have obstructed our own de-
 ‘ signs; that we have, instead of assisting the
 ‘ Queen of Hungary, withdrawn part of the
 ‘ allies from her, and that we have burthened
 ‘ the nation with troops from which no ser-
 ‘ vice can be reasonably expected.

‘ The advocates for the ministry have, on
 ‘ this occasion, affected to speak of the balance
 ‘ of power, the Pragmatic Sanction, and the pre-
 ‘ servation of the Queen of Hungary, not only as
 ‘ if they were to be the chief care of Great Britain,
 ‘ which, though easily controvertible, might
 ‘ perhaps, in compliance with long preju-
 ‘ dices, be admitted; but as if they were to
 ‘ be the care of Great Britain alone; as if the
 ‘ power of France were formidable to no
 ‘ other people; as if no other part of the
 ‘ world would be injured, by becoming a
 ‘ prey to an universal monarchy, and being
 ‘ subjected to an arbitrary government of a
 ‘ French deputy; by being drained of its in-
 ‘ habitants, only to extend the conquests of
 ‘ its masters, and to make other nations
 ‘ equally miserable; and by being oppressed
 ‘ with

‘ with exorbitant taxes, levied by military ex-
 ‘ ecutions, and employed only in supporting
 ‘ the state of its oppressors. They dwell
 ‘ upon the importance of public faith, and the
 ‘ necessity of an exact observation of treaties,
 ‘ as if the Pragmatic Sanction had been signed
 ‘ by no other potentate than the King of
 ‘ Great Britain; or as if the public faith were
 ‘ to be obligatory to us only.

‘ That we should inviolably observe our
 ‘ treaties, and observe them though every
 ‘ other nation should disregard them; that
 ‘ we should shew an example of fidelity to
 ‘ mankind, and stand firm, though we should
 ‘ stand alone, in the practice of virtue, I
 ‘ shall readily allow; and therefore I am far
 ‘ from advising that we should recede from
 ‘ our stipulations, whatever we may suffer
 ‘ by performing, or neglect the support of the
 ‘ Pragmatic Sanction, however we may be at
 ‘ present embarrassed, or however inconve-
 ‘ nient it may be to assert it.

‘ But surely that for the same reason we
 ‘ observe our own stipulations, we ought to
 ‘ excite other powers likewise to the observa-
 ‘ tion

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‘ tion of theirs; or at least not to contribute to
 ‘ hinder it. But how is our present conduct
 ‘ agreeable to these principles? The Pragmatic
 ‘ Sanction was confirmed not only by the
 ‘ King of Great Britain, but by the Elector
 ‘ of Hanover also, who is therefore equally
 ‘ obliged, if treaties constitute obligation, to
 ‘ defend the House of Austria against the at-
 ‘ tacks of any foreign power, and to send his
 ‘ proportion of troops to support the Queen
 ‘ of Hungary.

‘ Whether these troops have been sent,
 ‘ those whose province obliges them to have
 ‘ some knowledge with foreign affairs can
 ‘ better inform the House than I; but since
 ‘ we have not heard them mentioned in this
 ‘ debate, and have found by experience that
 ‘ none of the merits of that Electorate are
 ‘ passed over in silence, it may, I think, fairly
 ‘ be concluded, that the distresses of the Queen
 ‘ of Hungary have yet received no allevia-
 ‘ tion from her alliance with Hanover; that
 ‘ her complaints have moved no compassion
 ‘ at that court, nor the justice of her cause
 ‘ obtained any regard.

‘ To

‘ To what can be imputed this negligence
 ‘ of treaties, this disregard of justice, this de-
 ‘ fect of compassion, but to the pernicious
 ‘ counsels of those men who have advised his
 ‘ Majesty to hire to Great Britain those troops
 ‘ which he should have employed in the as-
 ‘ sistance of the Queen of Hungary? for it is
 ‘ not to be imagined that his Majesty has
 ‘ more or less regard to justice as King of
 ‘ Great Britain than as Elector of Hanover;
 ‘ or that he would not have sent his propor-
 ‘ tion of troops to the Austrian army, had not
 ‘ the temptation of greater profit been in-
 ‘ dustriously laid before him.

‘ But this is not all that may be urged
 ‘ against this conduct: For, can we imagine
 ‘ that the power of France is less, or that her
 ‘ designs are less formidable to Hanover than
 ‘ to Great Britain? Nor is it less necessary for
 ‘ the security of Hanover that the House of
 ‘ Austria should be re-established in its former
 ‘ grandeur, and enabled to support the liber-
 ‘ ties of Europe against the bold attempts for
 ‘ universal monarchy?

‘ If, therefore, our assistance be an act
 ‘ of honesty, and granted in consequence of
 ‘ treaties,

‘ treaties, why may it not equally be required
‘ of Hanover? And if it be an act of generosity,
‘ why should this nation alone be obliged to
‘ sacrifice her own interest to that of others?
‘ Or why should the Elector of Hanover exert
‘ his liberality at the expence of Great Bri-
‘ tain?

‘ It is now too apparent, that this great, this
‘ powerful, this formidable kingdom, is con-
‘ sidered only as a province to a despicable
‘ Electorate; and that, in consequence of a
‘ scheme formed long ago, and invariably
‘ pursued, these troops are hired only to drain
‘ this unhappy nation of its money. That
‘ they have hitherto been of no use to Great
‘ Britain or to Austria, is evident beyond
‘ controversy; and therefore it is plain that
‘ they are retained only for the purpose of
‘ Hanover.

‘ How much reason the transactions of al-
‘ most every year have given for suspecting
‘ this ridiculous, ungrateful, and perfidious
‘ partiality, it is not necessary to mention. I
‘ doubt not but most of those who sit in this
‘ House can recollect a great number of in-
‘ stances, from the purchase of part of the
‘ Swedish

‘ Swedish dominions, to the contract which
 ‘ we are now called upon to ratify. I hope
 ‘ few have forgotten the memorable stipula-
 ‘ tion for the Hessian troops; for the forces
 ‘ of the Duke of *Wolfembuttel*, which we
 ‘ were scarcely to march beyond the verge of
 ‘ their own country; or the ever-memorable
 ‘ treaty of which the tendency is discovered
 ‘ in the name*. The treaty by which we
 ‘ disunited ourselves from Austria, destroyed
 ‘ that building which we may perhaps now
 ‘ endeavour, without success, to raise again;
 ‘ and weakened the only power which it was
 ‘ our interest to strengthen.

‘ To dwell upon all the instances of par-
 ‘ tiality which have been shewn; to remark
 ‘ the yearly visits that have been made to that
 ‘ delightful country; to reckon up all the
 ‘ sums that have been spent to aggrandize
 ‘ and enrich it, would be at once invidious
 ‘ and tiresome; tiresome to those who are

* In the debate upon the Hanover treaty (anno 1725), it was alledged, by Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, “ That the treaty between the Emperor and the King of Spain might probably be cemented by a match between the eldest daughter of the former (now Queen of Hungary), and the Infant Don Carlos.”

‘ afraid

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‘ afraid to hear the truth, and to those who
 ‘ are unwilling to mention facts dishonour-
 ‘ able or injurious to their country. Nor
 ‘ shall I dwell any longer on this unpleasing
 ‘ subject, than to express my hopes that we
 ‘ shall no more suffer ourselves to be deceived
 ‘ and oppressed; that we shall at length per-
 ‘ form the duty of the representatives of the
 ‘ people; and, by refusing to ratify this con-
 ‘ tract, shew that, however the interest of
 ‘ Hanover has been preferred by the ministers,
 ‘ the Parliament pays no regard but to that of
 ‘ Great Britain.’

The motion was agreed to, upon a division
 of 260 against 193.

In July 1743, Lord *Wilmington* died, and
 Mr. *Pelham* succeeded him at the treasury,
 and Mr. *Winnington* succeeded Mr. *Pelham* in
 the office of paymaster. On the 22d of De-
 cember 1743, Mr. *Sandys* being created a
 peer, Mr. *Pelham* was made chancellor of the
 exchequer.

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On the 1st of December 1743, Parliament
 met. The King's speech recited the affairs
 ‘ of

of the continent, which, from the late battle at Dettingen, and other events, had engaged the public attention. The usual motion for an address, in answer to the King's speech; brought on a long debate, in which Mr. *Pitt* spoke against the motion; *viz.*

‘ From what is now proposed we may see,
 ‘ that whatever change we have got, or may
 ‘ get, with respect to foreign measures, by the
 ‘ late change in our administration, the na-
 ‘ tion is to expect no change with respect to
 ‘ our domestic affairs. In foreign affairs I
 ‘ shall grant we have felt a very remarkable
 ‘ change. From one extreme our admini-
 ‘ stration have run close to the verge of ano-
 ‘ ther. Our former minister betrayed the in-
 ‘ terest of his country by his pusillanimity;
 ‘ our present minister (meaning Lord *Carteret*)
 ‘ sacrifices it by his quixotism. Our former
 ‘ minister was for negotiating with all the
 ‘ world; our present is for fighting against all
 ‘ the world. Our former minister was for
 ‘ agreeing to every treaty, though never so
 ‘ dishonourable; our present will give ear to
 ‘ no treaty, though never so reasonable:
 ‘ Thus both appear to be extravagant, but
 ‘ with

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‘ with this difference, that by the extravagance of our present, the nation will be put to a much greater charge than ever it was by the extravagance of our former.

‘ It must therefore be allowed, Sir, that by a change of a few men in our administration, we have got a change of measures, so far as relates to foreign affairs; but with respect to our domestic affairs, we have met with no change in our measures; we can now, I think, expect none. The same screening, the same plundering, the same prodigal spirit prevails. The same criminal complaisance, we may depend on it, the same corrupt, extravagant, and dangerous measures, will be made use of. They have, I am convinced, been already practised; otherwise no minister would expect that a British House of Commons would consent that their address to their Sovereign should consist of the most fulsome panegyrics upon the conduct of his ministers. I say, Sir, no minister would expect such complaisance; for I hope the hon. gentleman who made the motion will excuse me, if I suppose it was put into his hands by the minister; and
‘ if

‘ if he thinks he has acquired honour by
 ‘ making such a motion, I promise him I
 ‘ shall never envy him the acquisition.

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‘ The hon. gentleman who spoke last was
 ‘ in the right when he said, in the beginning
 ‘ of the session we could know nothing in a
 ‘ parliamentary way of the measures that had
 ‘ been pursued. I believe we shall know as
 ‘ little in that way at the end of the session as
 ‘ we do at the beginning; for I am persuaded
 ‘ our new minister will in this, as well as in
 ‘ every other step of his domestic conduct,
 ‘ follow the example of his predecessor, by
 ‘ getting a negative put upon every motion
 ‘ that may tend towards our acquiring any
 ‘ parliamentary knowledge of our late mea-
 ‘ sures. But if we have no knowledge
 ‘ of them, surely it is as strong an argument
 ‘ for our not approving, as it can be for our
 ‘ not answering; and if nothing relating to
 ‘ our late measures had been proposed to be
 ‘ inserted in our address upon this occasion,
 ‘ I should not have taken the least notice of
 ‘ them; but whether I have any parliament-
 ‘ ary knowledge or no, when an approbation
 ‘ is proposed, it lays me under a necessity to

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' make use of the knowledge I have, whatever
 ' it may be, in order to determine whether I
 ' am to join or not in the approbation pro-
 ' posed. Suppose I had no knowledge of any
 ' of our late measures but what I have ga-
 ' thered from foreign and domestic newspa-
 ' pers; even that knowledge I must make use
 ' of when I am obliged to give my opinion
 ' of them; and when, from that knowledge,
 ' I think them wrong, I ought surely to re-
 ' fuse joining in any thing that may look like
 ' an approbation. Nay, this refusal I ought
 ' to persist in, till the minister be pleased to
 ' furnish me with such parliamentary know-
 ' ledge as may convince me that I have been
 ' misinformed. This, I say, ought certainly
 ' to be my conduct, when, from the know-
 ' ledge I have, I find more reason to con-
 ' demn than approve of any late measure;
 ' but suppose that, from the knowledge I have,
 ' I find more reason to approve than condemn,
 ' yet even in that case I ought not to approve,
 ' unless my knowledge be such as may author-
 ' ise that approbation; and as no sort of
 ' knowledge but a parliamentary knowledge
 ' can warrant a parliamentary approbation,
 ' for this reason alone I ought to refuse it;
 ' so

‘ so that if what is now proposed contains
 ‘ any sort of approbation, our refusing to
 ‘ agree to it is not a censure upon any past
 ‘ measure; it is only a declaration that we
 ‘ have not such a knowledge of past mea-
 ‘ sures as may be a sufficient foundation for a
 ‘ parliamentary approbation.

‘ Sir, it is not only an approbation of all
 ‘ that our ministers have advised, but an ac-
 ‘ knowledgment of the truth of several facts,
 ‘ which upon inquiry may appear to be false;
 ‘ or at least they are such as we have seen no
 ‘ proof of, nor have any proper authority to
 ‘ assert. Suppose it should appear that his
 ‘ Majesty was exposed to few or no dangers
 ‘ abroad, but what he is daily exposed to at
 ‘ home, such as the overturning of his coach,
 ‘ or the stumbling of his horse—would not
 ‘ the address proposed be an affront and an
 ‘ insult upon our sovereign, instead of being
 ‘ a compliment? Suppose it should appear
 ‘ that our ministers have shewn no regard to
 ‘ the advice of Parliament, and that they
 ‘ have exerted their endeavours, not for the
 ‘ preservation of the House of Austria, but for
 ‘ involving that House in dangers, which it

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‘ might otherwise have avoided, and which, I
 ‘ believe, it will hardly be possible for us to
 ‘ avert ; suppose it should appear that though
 ‘ a body of Dutch troops marched to the
 ‘ Rhine, they never joined our army ; sup-
 ‘ pose it should appear that the treaty with
 ‘ Sardinia is not yet ratified by all the parties
 ‘ concerned, or that it is such a one as cannot
 ‘ be performed : If these things should ap-
 ‘ pear, upon an inquiry, would not such an
 ‘ address as this appear very ridiculous? What
 ‘ assurance have we that all these facts may
 ‘ not appear to be as I have supposed? For as
 ‘ the King’s speech from the throne is always,
 ‘ in this House, considered as the speech of the
 ‘ minister ; it can never be allowed to be a proof
 ‘ upon which we ought to found any resolution.

‘ What I have said, Sir, will shew, that
 ‘ even though we had reason to conclude from
 ‘ such knowledge as we may have accident-
 ‘ ally acquired, that our late measures were
 ‘ right, and that all the facts to be mentioned
 ‘ in our address were exactly true, yet we
 ‘ ought not to express any sort of approbation,
 ‘ because we have as yet no parliamentary
 ‘ knowledge that can authorise a parliament-
 ‘ ary

' any approbation. But when the contrary
 ' happens to be the case; when we have great
 ' reason to conclude, from every sort of know-
 ' ledge we have hitherto acquired, that our
 ' late measures were fundamentally wrong;
 ' that facts have been misrepresented to us;
 ' and that we may, very probably, have rea-
 ' son to condole for what we are now de-
 ' sired to congratulate upon, how cautious
 ' ought we to be of saying any thing in our
 ' address that may look like an approbation
 ' either of the measures or the methods that
 ' have been taken to prosecute them !

' In order to shew, Sir, that this is really
 ' the case, I must begin with the turn which
 ' the affairs of Europe took upon the death
 ' of the late Emperor. Upon that emergency
 ' I shall grant that it was the interest of
 ' this nation to have had the Queen of Hun-
 ' gary established in the possession of her fa-
 ' ther's dominions, and her husband, the
 ' Duke of Lorrain, chosen Emperor. This
 ' was our interest, because it would
 ' have been the best security for the pre-
 ' servation of the balance of power; but
 ' this was our only interest, and it was an in-

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' tereft we had in common with all the
 ' powers of Europe, except France. We
 ' were not, therefore, to take upon us the
 ' fole fupport of this intereft; and therefore,
 ' when the King of Pruffia attacked Silefia
 ' and the King of Spain, the King of Poland
 ' and the Duke of Bavaria laid claim to the
 ' late Emperor's fucceffion; we might then
 ' have feen that the eftablifhment of the
 ' Queen of Hungary in all her father's domi-
 ' nions was become impoffible, efpecially as
 ' the Dutch refufed to interfere any other way
 ' than by good offices. What, then, ought
 ' we to have done? Since we could not pre-
 ' ferve the whole, is it not evident that, in
 ' order to engage fome of the claimants on
 ' our fide, we ought to have advifed her to
 ' yield up-part? This we ought to have in-
 ' fifted on, and the claimant whom we ought
 ' firft to have thought of taking off was the
 ' King of Pruffia; both becaufe his claim was
 ' the fmalleft, and becaufe he was one of the
 ' moft neutral, as well as one of the moft
 ' powerful allies we could treat with. For this
 ' reafon we ought certainly to have advifed
 ' the Queen of Hungary to have accepted of
 ' the terms offered by the King of Pruffia
 ' when

‘ when he first invaded Silesia : Nay, we
 ‘ ought to have insisted on it, as the condi-
 ‘ tion of our assisting her against any of the
 ‘ other claimants. If we had done this, the
 ‘ court of Vienna must and would have
 ‘ agreed to it; and in this case, whatever pro-
 ‘ testations the other claimants might have
 ‘ made, the Queen of Hungary would, to
 ‘ this day I believe, have remained the un-
 ‘ disturbed possessor of all the rest of her fa-
 ‘ ther’s dominions; and her husband, the
 ‘ Duke of Lorrain, would have been in pos-
 ‘ session of the Imperial throne.

‘ Did we, at that time, pursue this salu-
 ‘ tary measure? No, Sir, the contrary ap-
 ‘ pears not only from our Gazettes, but
 ‘ from our parliamentary knowledge; for,
 ‘ from the papers that have been either acci-
 ‘ dentally or necessarily laid before Parlia-
 ‘ ment, it appears that, instead of insisting
 ‘ upon the court of Vienna agreeing to the
 ‘ terms offered by Prussia, we rather encou-
 ‘ raged them in their obstinacy, not only by
 ‘ our memorials, but by his Majesty’s speech
 ‘ to his Parliament, the addresses of both
 ‘ Houses thereupon, and by speeches made

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‘ by our courtiers against the King of Prussia.
 ‘ What I mean is his Majesty’s speech on the
 ‘ 8th of April 1741; the famous addresses
 ‘ made upon that occasion, for guaranteeing
 ‘ the dominions of Hanover, and the grant
 ‘ of 300,000*l.* for enabling his Majesty to
 ‘ support the Queen of Hungary. Every
 ‘ one must remember the speeches made upon
 ‘ that occasion, by some favourites at court,
 ‘ against the King of Prussia; and every one
 ‘ must remember, that the Queen of Hun-
 ‘ gary was not then, nor for some months
 ‘ after, attacked by any one Prince in Europe,
 ‘ except the King of Prussia; therefore, the
 ‘ court of Vienna could not but suppose that
 ‘ both the court and nation of Great Britain
 ‘ were resolved to support her, not only
 ‘ against the King of Prussia, but *contra*
 ‘ *omnes mortales*; and consequently we have
 ‘ no reason to be surprised at that court’s
 ‘ shewing an unwillingness to part with such
 ‘ a plentiful country as those lordships of
 ‘ Silesia claimed by the King of Prussia.

‘ This I say, Sir, was sufficient to confirm
 ‘ the Queen of Hungary in her obstinacy;
 ‘ but this was not all. We had not only
 ‘ pro-

‘ promised her our assistance against the King
‘ of Prussia, but we had actually begun a ne-
‘ gotiation for a powerful alliance against that
‘ Prince, and for parcelling out his domi-
‘ nions amongst the allies. We had solicited
‘ not only the Queen of Hungary, but also
‘ the Dutch and Muscovites, to enter into this
‘ alliance; and we had been at the expence
‘ of taking both Danes and the Hessians into
‘ the pay of Great Britain, for the use of
‘ this alliance. Nay, even Hanover put her-
‘ self to a great expence upon this occa-
‘ sion, by making an augmentation of near
‘ one third to the army she had on foot,
‘ which I believe was the first extraordinary
‘ expence she was put to since her happy con-
‘ junction with England, notwithstanding
‘ the great acquisitions she has since made,
‘ and the many expensive broils England has
‘ been involved in, upon the sole account of
‘ that Electorate. Therefore, if the Queen
‘ of Hungary shewed any thing like obstinacy
‘ with regard to the claims of Prussia, we
‘ may easily perceive to whom that obstinacy
‘ ought to be ascribed; and to whom only
‘ the misfortunes which afterwards beset that
‘ Princess ought most justly to be imputed.
‘ Whilst

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‘ Whilst the French seemed resolved not to
 ‘ interfere in the affairs of Germany, it was
 ‘ easy to promise her our assistance. It was
 ‘ safe to engage in schemes that might con-
 ‘ tribute to her support, as well as to the
 ‘ enlargement of the dominions of Hanover,
 ‘ because Prussia was certainly not an equal
 ‘ match for the Queen of Hungary alone,
 ‘ and much less for the Queen of Hungary
 ‘ supported by Hanover, and the whole
 ‘ power of Great Britain. During this pos-
 ‘ ture of affairs, I say it was safe for us, that
 ‘ is to say it was safe for Hanover, to pro-
 ‘ mise and to concert schemes for the support
 ‘ of the Queen of Hungary; but as soon as
 ‘ France began to appear, our schemes were
 ‘ all dropt, and our promises forgotten, be-
 ‘ cause it began then to be unsafe for Ha-
 ‘ nover to engage in the affair, and England
 ‘ most undoubtedly is not to regard any pro-
 ‘ mises, or to engage in any schemes, which
 ‘ can possibly bring Hanover into any danger
 ‘ or distress.

‘ From this time, Sir, we thought no
 ‘ more of assisting the Queen of Hungary,
 ‘ except by those grants which were made to
 ‘ her

' her by Parliament. These indeed our mi-
 ' nisters did not oppose, because they are
 ' sure of making, some way or other, a job
 ' of every grant made by Parliament: But
 ' from the use that was made, or rather the
 ' no use that was made, of the Danish and
 ' Hessian troops, notwithstanding their being
 ' continued in British pay, and from the in-
 ' sult tamely suffered by our Squadron in the
 ' Mediterranean, we must conclude that our
 ' ministers, from the time the French began
 ' to interfere, resolved, and were perhaps
 ' afterwards engaged, to give the Queen of
 ' Hungary no assistance either by sea or
 ' land. Thus, after having led that Princess
 ' upon the ice by our promises, we left her
 ' there, to shift for herself; by which means
 ' the Duke of Bavaria came to be chosen Em-
 ' peror, and the House of Austria was stripped
 ' of a great part of its dominions, and in the
 ' utmost danger of being stript of all, if France
 ' had been so inclined; but what saved the
 ' House of Austria was, France had a mind
 ' to have the power of that House reduced,
 ' but not to be absolutely ruined; because the
 ' power of the Duke of Bavaria, then Em-
 ' peror, would have been raised to a higher
 ' pitch

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pitch than was consistent with the French scheme, which was to make the Princes of Germany ruin one another as much as possible, and then to make such a partition as should render the Houses of Bavaria, Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, pretty near equal; in which case it is highly probable, and the French have not been disposed to say, that the King of Prussia there would not have been so long as it has been since made.

‘ This prevented the French from bringing such a powerful army into Germany as they might have done; and by the conduct of the generals they sent to Hungary the good conduct of the Queen of Hungary’s generals, together with the bravery of her troops, her affairs in Germany took a new turn, just about the time of the late change in our administration; which brings me to the origin of the measures that are now carrying on; and therefore I must consider the posture of the affairs of Europe at that particular time, that is, in February 1742. But before I enter upon that consideration, I must lay this down as a maxim which

‘ which this nation ought always to observe,
 ‘ that though it be our interest to preserve a
 ‘ balance of power in Europe, yet, as we are
 ‘ the most remote from danger, we ought
 ‘ always to be the least susceptible of jealousy,
 ‘ and the last to take the alarm. With regard
 ‘ to the balance of power, I must observe,
 ‘ that this balance may be supported either by
 ‘ having one single potentate capable of op-
 ‘ posing and defeating any ambitious design
 ‘ of France, or by having a well-connected
 ‘ confederacy sufficient for the same purpose.
 ‘ Of these two I shall grant that the first is
 ‘ the most eligible, when it can be had, be-
 ‘ cause it may be most securely depended on;
 ‘ but when this cannot be had, the whole
 ‘ address of our ministers and negotiators
 ‘ ought to be employed in establishing the se-
 ‘ cond.

‘ The wisdom of the first maxim, Sir,
 ‘ must be acknowledged by every one who
 ‘ considers, that when the powers upon the
 ‘ continent apply to us to join with them in a
 ‘ war against France, we may take what share
 ‘ in the war we think fit; whereas, when we
 ‘ apply to them, they will prescribe to us;
 ‘ and

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‘ and whatever art some gentlemen may make
 ‘ use of to frighten themselves, or to frighten
 ‘ others, when it serves their purpose, with
 ‘ the dependency of all the powers of Europe
 ‘ upon France, we may rest secure, that as
 ‘ often as they are in any real danger of
 ‘ being brought under such a dependency,
 ‘ they will unite among themselves to prevent
 ‘ it, and will call upon us for assistance ; nay,
 ‘ if they should be imperceptibly brought
 ‘ under such a dependency, they would, as
 ‘ soon as they perceived it, unite amongst
 ‘ themselves, and call upon us to join with
 ‘ them in a confederacy against France, in
 ‘ order to enable them to shake off that de-
 ‘ pendency ; so that we can never be obliged
 ‘ to stand alone in supporting the balance of
 ‘ power, nor shall we ever have occasion to
 ‘ call upon our neighbours on the continent
 ‘ to join with us for such a purpose, unless
 ‘ when our ministers, for some purposes and
 ‘ designs of their own, pretend dangers
 ‘ which have no real foundation ; for Europe
 ‘ is now in a very different situation from
 ‘ what it was in the time of the Romans.
 ‘ Every country then was divided into so
 ‘ many sovereignties, that it was impossible
 ‘ for

‘ for the people of any one country to unite
‘ among themselves, and much more for two
‘ or three large countries to unite in a ge-
‘ neral confederacy against the overgrown
‘ power of the Romans; whereas this is now
‘ practicable, and always may be practised as
‘ often as France, or any other power in
‘ Europe, discovers a real design to enslave
‘ the rest.

‘ This brings me back to what I have al-
‘ ready observed, that the balance of power,
‘ in Europe, may be maintained by a confe-
‘ deracy, as securely as it can be by setting
‘ up any one power as a rival to the power
‘ of France. And now let me examine
‘ which of these two methods we ought to
‘ have thought on in February 1742. The
‘ Imperial diadem was then gone from the
‘ House of Austria; and though the Queen
‘ of Hungary’s troops had met with some
‘ success in the winter, she was still stript of
‘ a great part of the Austrian dominions; so
‘ that the power of the House was much in-
‘ ferior to what it was at the time of the late
‘ Emperor’s death, and still more inferior to
‘ what it was in the year 1716, when we
‘ thought

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‘ thought it necessary to add Naples and Sicily
 ‘ to its former acquisitions, in order to make
 ‘ it a match for the power of France. Beside
 ‘ this, there was then a most powerful con-
 ‘ federacy against that House, and no jealousy
 ‘ subsisting amongst the powers of Europe of
 ‘ the ambitious designs of France; for though
 ‘ that court had assisted in humiliating the
 ‘ House of Austria, they had discovered no
 ‘ design of increasing their own dominions.
 ‘ But on the other hand, by the haughty be-
 ‘ haviour of the court of Vienna, and the
 ‘ height that House had been raised to, a
 ‘ jealousy had arisen amongst the Princes of
 ‘ Germany, of the overgrown power of that
 ‘ House; which jealousy had first manifested
 ‘ itself in the House of Hanover, and was at
 ‘ this very time subsisting, not only in the
 ‘ House of Hanover, but also in most of the
 ‘ sovereign Houses of Germany. In these
 ‘ circumstances it was impossible for our mi-
 ‘ nisters, however weak and erroneous we
 ‘ may suppose them, to think of restoring
 ‘ the House of Austria to its former grandeur
 ‘ and power, or of supporting that House as
 ‘ a match against the power of France; be-
 ‘ cause in such a scheme they must have seen
 ‘ that

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‘ that they would not be cordially assisted by
 ‘ any power in Europe, and that they would
 ‘ be opposed, not only by France and Spain,
 ‘ but by all the Princes of Germany and
 ‘ Italy, who were jealous of the power of the
 ‘ House of Austria.

‘ In these circumstances, what was this
 ‘ nation to do? What ought our ministers to
 ‘ have done? Since it was impossible to esta-
 ‘ blish the balance of power in Europe upon
 ‘ the single power of the House of Austria,
 ‘ surely, Sir, it was our business to think of
 ‘ restoring the peace of Germany as soon as
 ‘ possible, by our good offices, in order
 ‘ thereby to establish a confederacy sufficient
 ‘ for opposing France, in case that court
 ‘ should afterwards discover any ambitious
 ‘ views. It was not now so much our busi-
 ‘ ness to prevent the lessening of the power
 ‘ of the House of Austria, as it was our busi-
 ‘ ness to bring about a speedy reconciliation
 ‘ among the Princes of Germany, and to
 ‘ take care that France should get as little by
 ‘ the treaty of peace, as she said she expected
 ‘ by the war. This, I say, ought to have
 ‘ been our chief concern, because the preserv-
 ‘ ation

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‘ ation of the balance of power was now no
 ‘ longer to depend upon the sole power of
 ‘ the House of Austria, but upon the joint
 ‘ power of a confederacy then to be formed ;
 ‘ and till the Princes of Germany were re-
 ‘ conciled among themselves, there was
 ‘ scarcely a possibility of forming such a con-
 ‘ federacy. If we had made this our scheme,
 ‘ the Dutch would have joined heartily in it.
 ‘ The Germanic body would have joined in
 ‘ it ; and the peace of Germany might have
 ‘ been restored without putting this nation to
 ‘ any expence, or diverting us from the pro-
 ‘ secution of our just and necessary war
 ‘ against Spain, in case our differences with
 ‘ that nation could not have been adjusted by
 ‘ the treaty for restoring the peace of Ger-
 ‘ many.

‘ But our new minister, as I have said,
 ‘ ran into an extreme quite opposite to that
 ‘ of the old.

‘ Our former minister thought of nothing
 ‘ but negotiating, when he ought to have
 ‘ thought of nothing but war ; and the present
 ‘ minister has thought of nothing but war,

‘ or

‘ or at least the resemblance of it, when he
 ‘ ought to have thought of nothing but ne-
 ‘ gotiation.

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‘ A resolution was taken, and preparations
 ‘ were made, for sending a body of our troops
 ‘ to Flanders, even before we had any hopes
 ‘ of the King of Prussia’s deserting his alli-
 ‘ ance with France, and without our being
 ‘ called on to do so by any one power in
 ‘ Europe: I say, Sir, by any one power in
 ‘ Europe; for I defy our ministers to shew
 ‘ that even the Queen of Hungary desired
 ‘ any such thing before it was resolved on. I
 ‘ believe some of her ministers were free
 ‘ enough to declare that the money those
 ‘ troops cost would have done her much more
 ‘ service; and I am sure we were so far from
 ‘ being called on by the Dutch to do so, that
 ‘ it was resolved on without their participa-
 ‘ tion, and the measures carried into execu-
 ‘ tion, I believe, expressly contrary to their
 ‘ advice.

‘ This resolution, Sir, was so far from
 ‘ having any influence on the King of
 ‘ Prussia, that he continued firm to his alli-

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' ance with France, and fought the battle of
 ' Crotzka, after he knew it was taken; and if
 ' he had continued firm in the same senti-
 ' ments, I am very sure our troops neither
 ' would nor could have been of the least ser-
 ' vice to the Queen of Hungary; but the
 ' battle of Crotzka fully convinced him that
 ' the French designed chiefly to play one
 ' German Prince against another, in order to
 ' weaken both; and perhaps he had before
 ' then discovered that, according to the
 ' French scheme, his share of Silesia was not
 ' to be so considerable as he expected. These
 ' considerations, and not the eloquence or
 ' address of any of our ministers, inclined him
 ' to come to an agreement with the Queen of
 ' Hungary; and as she was now convinced
 ' that she could not depend upon our pro-
 ' mises, she readily agreed to his terms,
 ' though his demands were now much more
 ' extravagant than they were at first; and
 ' what is worse, they were now unaccom-
 ' panied with any one promise or considera-
 ' tion, except that of a neutrality; whereas
 ' his first demands were made palatable by the
 ' tender of a large sum of money, and by the
 ' promise of his utmost assistance, not only in
 ' sup-

‘ supporting the Pragmatic Sanction, but in
 ‘ raising her husband, the Duke of Lorrain,
 ‘ to the Imperial throne. Nay, he even in-
 ‘ sinuated that he would embrace the first
 ‘ opportunity to assist in procuring her House
 ‘ an equivalent for whatever part of Silesia she
 ‘ should yield up to him.

‘ This accommodation between the Queen
 ‘ of Hungary and the King of Prussia, and
 ‘ that which soon after followed between her
 ‘ and the Duke of Saxony, produced a very great
 ‘ alteration in the affairs of Europe; but as
 ‘ they promised nothing but a neutrality, and
 ‘ as the Dutch absolutely refused to join,
 ‘ either with the Queen of Hungary or us,
 ‘ in any offensive measures against France, it
 ‘ was still impossible for us to think of re-
 ‘ storing the House of Austria to such
 ‘ power as to render it a match for the
 ‘ power of France; therefore we ought
 ‘ still to have thought of nothing but nego-
 ‘ tiation, in order to restore the peace of
 ‘ Germany, by an accommodation between
 ‘ her and the Emperor; and the distresses
 ‘ which the Bavarian and French armies in
 ‘ Germany were drove to, furnished us with

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‘ such an opportunity as we ought by all
‘ means to have embraced, and to have in-
‘ sisted on the Queen of Hungary’s doing the
‘ same, under the pain of being entirely de-
‘ serted by us. A peace was offered both by
‘ the Emperor and the French, upon the mo-
‘ derate terms of *Uti Possidetis*, with respect
‘ to Germany; but, for what reason I can-
‘ not comprehend, we were so far from ad-
‘ vising the Queen of Hungary to accept,
‘ that I believe we advised her not to accept, of
‘ the terms offered.

‘ This, Sir, was a conduct in our mi-
‘ nisters so very extraordinary, so directly
‘ opposite to the interest of this nation, and
‘ the security of the balance of power, that I
‘ can suggest to myself no one reason for it,
‘ but their being resolved to put this nation to
‘ the expence of maintaining 16,000 Hano-
‘ verians; and this, I am afraid, was the true
‘ motive our new ministers had at first for all
‘ the warlike measures they resolved on. No-
‘ thing will now satisfy us but a conquest of
‘ Alsace and Lorrain, in order to give them to
‘ the Queen of Hungary, as an equivalent for
‘ what she had lost; and this we resolved on,
‘ or

‘ or at least pretended to resolve on, at a time
 ‘ when France and Prussia were in close con-
 ‘ junction; at a time when no one of the
 ‘ powers of Europe could assist us; at a time
 ‘ when none of them entertained any jealousy
 ‘ of the ambitious designs of France; and at
 ‘ a time when most of the Princes of Germany
 ‘ entertained such a jealousy of the power of
 ‘ the House of Austria, that we had great
 ‘ reason to apprehend the whole Germanic
 ‘ body, at least the most considerable Princes
 ‘ of Germany, joining against us, in case we
 ‘ should meet with any success.

‘ Sir, if our ministers were really serious
 ‘ in this scheme, it was one of the most ro-
 ‘ mantic that ever entered into the head of
 ‘ any English Don Quixote; and if they
 ‘ made this only a pretence for putting this
 ‘ nation to the expence of maintaining 16,000
 ‘ Hanoverians, or of acquiring some new
 ‘ territory for the Electorate of Hanover, I
 ‘ am sure no British House of Commons
 ‘ ought to approve of their conduct.

‘ It is ridiculous to say, Sir, that we could
 ‘ not advise the Queen of Hungary to accept

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' of the terms offered by the Emperor and
 ' France, when their troops were cooped up
 ' in the city of Prague, because these terms
 ' were offered with a view only to get their
 ' troops at liberty, and to take the first oppor-
 ' tunity to attack her with more vigour.—
 ' This, I say, is ridiculous, because, if she
 ' had accepted of the terms offered, she
 ' might have had them guaranteed by the
 ' Dutch, by the German body, and by all
 ' the powerful Princes of Germany, which
 ' would have brought all these powers into a
 ' confederacy with us against the Emperor
 ' and France, if they had afterwards attacked
 ' her in Germany; and all of them, but es-
 ' pecially the Dutch and the King of Prussia,
 ' would have been ready to have joined us,
 ' if the French had attacked her in Flanders.
 ' It is equally ridiculous to say, that she
 ' could not accept of these terms, because
 ' they contained nothing for the security of
 ' her dominions in Italy; for suppose the war
 ' had continued in Italy, if the Queen of
 ' Hungary had been safe upon the side of
 ' Germany, she could have poured such a
 ' number of troops into Italy, as would have
 ' been sufficient for opposing and defeating
 ' all

‘ all the armies that both the French and Spaniards could have sent to, and maintained in that country; since we could, by our superior fleets, have made it impossible for the French and Spaniards to maintain great armies in that country.

‘ No reason can therefore be assigned for the Queen of Hungary’s refusing the terms offered her for restoring the tranquillity of Germany, but this alone, that we had promised to assist her so effectually as to enable her to conquer a part of France, by way of equivalent for what she had lost in Germany and Italy; and such an assistance as is neither our interest nor in our power to give, as the circumstances of Europe stand at present. I am really surpris’d how the Queen of Hungary came to trust a second time to our promises; for I may venture to prophesy that she will find herself a second time deceived. We shall only put ourselves to a vast needless expence, as we did when she was first attacked by Prussia, and may give France a pretence for conquering Flanders, without raising any jealousy in the other powers of Europe, which other-
‘ wise

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‘ wife she would not have done; or we may
‘ bring the Queen of Hungary a second time
‘ to the verge of destruction, and leave her
‘ there; for that we certainly shall do, as
‘ soon as Hanover comes to be a second time
‘ in danger. From all which I must conclude,
‘ that our present scheme of politics is funda-
‘ mentally wrong, and that the longer we
‘ continue to build upon such a foundation, the
‘ more dangerous it will be for us. The
‘ whole fabric will involve this unfortunate
‘ nation in its ruins.

‘ But now, Sir, let us see how we have
‘ prosecuted this scheme, bad as it is, during
‘ the last campaign. As this nation must
‘ bear the chief part of the expence, it was
‘ certainly our business to prosecute the war
‘ with all possible vigour, to come to action
‘ as soon as possible, and to push every ad-
‘ vantage to the utmost. Since we soon
‘ found we could not attack the French upon
‘ the side of Flanders, why were our troops
‘ so long marching into Germany? Or indeed
‘ I should ask, why our army was not first
‘ assembled in that country? Why did they
‘ continue so long inactive upon the Maine?

' If our army was not numerous enough for
' attacking the French, why were the Hes-
' sians left behind for some time in Flanders?
' Why did we not send over 20,000 of those
' regular troops that were lying idle here at
' home? How to answer all these questions I
' cannot tell; but it is certain we never
' thought of attacking the French army in
' our neighbourhood, and I believe expected
' very little to be attacked. Nay, I doubt
' much if any action would have happened
' during the whole campaign, if the French
' had not, by the misconduct of some one or
' other of our generals, caught our army in
' a hose-net, from which it could not have
' escaped, if the French generals had all ob-
' served the directions of their commander in
' chief, and had thought only of guarding
' and fortifying themselves in the defiles, and
' marching up to attack our troops. Thank
' God, the courage of some of the French
' generals got the better of their discretion, as
' well as their military discipline. This made
' them attack, instead of waiting to be at-
' tacked; and by the bravery of the English
' foot, and the cowardice of their own, they
' met with a severe repulse, which put their
' whole

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‘ whole army into confusion, and obliged it
 ‘ to retire with precipitation over the Maine,
 ‘ by which our army escaped the snare they
 ‘ had been led into, and got free liberty to
 ‘ pursue their retreat to Hanau,

‘ This, Sir, was a signal advantage; but
 ‘ did we push this advantage? Did we pur-
 ‘ sue the enemy in their precipitate retreat
 ‘ over a great river, where many of them
 ‘ must have been lost, had they been closely
 ‘ pursued? Did we endeavour to take the
 ‘ least advantage of the confusion they had
 ‘ been thrown into by their unexpected re-
 ‘ pulse? No, Sir, the ardour of our British
 ‘ troops was restrained by the cowardice of
 ‘ the Hanoverian; and instead of pursuing
 ‘ the enemy, we ourselves ran away in the
 ‘ night-time, and in such haste, that we left
 ‘ all our wounded to the mercy and care of
 ‘ the enemy, who had likewise the honour
 ‘ of burying our dead, as well as their own.
 ‘ This action may therefore, on our side, be
 ‘ called a lucky escape; but I shall never give
 ‘ my consent to honour it with the name of a
 ‘ victory.

‘ After

' After this escape, Sir, our army was
 ' joined by a very large reinforcement. Did
 ' this revive our courage, or give us any
 ' better stomach for fighting? Not a bit, Sir.
 ' Though the French continued for some time
 ' upon the German side of the Rhine, we never
 ' offered to attack them, or to give them the
 ' least disturbance. At last, upon Prince
 ' Charles's approach with the Austrian army
 ' under his command, the French not only
 ' re-passed the Rhine, but retired quite out
 ' of Germany; and as the Austrian army and
 ' the allied army might then have joined, and
 ' might both have passed the Rhine without
 ' opposition at Mentz, or almost any where
 ' in the Palatinate, it was expected that both
 ' armies would have marched together into
 ' Lorrain, or in search of the French army,
 ' in order to force them to a battle; but in-
 ' stead of this, Prince Charles marched up the
 ' German side of the Rhine—to do what?
 ' To pass that great river, in the sight of a
 ' French army equal in number to his own,
 ' which, without some extraordinary neglect
 ' in the French, was impracticable; and so it
 ' was found by experience. So that the
 ' whole campaign, upon that side, was con-
 ' fumed

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 ' appeared to be impracticable.

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' On the other side, I mean that of the al-
 ' lied army, was there any thing done of
 ' consequence? I know of nothing but that
 ' of sending a party of Hussars into Lorraine
 ' with a manifesto. The army, indeed,
 ' passed the Rhine at Mentz, and marched up
 ' to the French lines upon the frontier of Al-
 ' face, but never offered to pass those lines
 ' until the French had abandoned them, I be-
 ' lieve with a design to draw our army into
 ' some snare; for upon the French returning
 ' again towards those lines, we retired with
 ' much greater haste than we had advanced,
 ' though the Dutch auxiliaries were then
 ' come up, and pretended, at least, to be
 ' ready to join our army; though, as I have
 ' heard, they found a pretence for never
 ' coming into the line; and I doubt much if
 ' they would have marched with us to attack
 ' the French army in their own territories, or
 ' to invest any of their fortified places; for
 ' I must observe, that the French lines upon
 ' the Queick were not, as to some part of
 ' them, within the territories of France. But
 ' sup-

‘ suppose this Dutch detachment had been
‘ ready to march with us to attack the French
‘ in their own territories, or to invest some of
‘ their fortified places, it could have given
‘ me no joy; and therefore I cannot join in
‘ any congratulations upon that event; for a
‘ small detachment of Dutch troops can never
‘ enable us to execute the vast scheme we have
‘ undertaken. The whole force of that Re-
‘ public would not be sufficient for that pur-
‘ pose; because we should have the majority
‘ of the Empire against us; and therefore if
‘ the Dutch had joined *totis viribus* in our
‘ scheme, instead of congratulating I should
‘ have bemoaned their running mad by our
‘ example, and at our instigation.

‘ Having now briefly examined our con-
‘ duct during the last campaign, from the
‘ few remarks I have made, I believe, Sir, it
‘ will appear that, supposing our scheme to
‘ be in itself possible and practicable, we have
‘ no reason to hope for success if it be not
‘ prosecuted with more vigour and better con-
‘ duct than it was during the last campaign.
‘ While we continue in the prosecution of
‘ this scheme, the Hanoverians indeed will
‘ be

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‘ be considerable gainers, let whoever will be
 ‘ the loser, because they will draw 4 or
 ‘ 500,000l. yearly from this nation, over and
 ‘ above what they have annually drawn from
 ‘ us ever since they had the good fortune to
 ‘ be united with us under the same sovereign.
 ‘ But we ought to consider, even the Hano-
 ‘ verians ought to consider, that this nation is
 ‘ not now in a condition to carry on an ex-
 ‘ pensive war, for ten or twelve years, as it
 ‘ did in the reign of Queen Anne. We may
 ‘ fund it out for a year, two or three, but we
 ‘ are now so much in debt that if we go on
 ‘ for a few years, adding millions to it every
 ‘ year, our credit will certainly at last, I am
 ‘ afraid sooner than some amongst us imagine,
 ‘ be undone; and if this misfortune should
 ‘ happen to us, neither Hanover nor any
 ‘ other foreign state would be able to draw a
 ‘ shilling more from us. A stop to our public
 ‘ credit would put an end to our paper cur-
 ‘ rency. An universal bankruptcy would
 ‘ ensue, and all the little ready money left
 ‘ amongst us would, by the happy possessors,
 ‘ be locked up in iron chests, or hid in bye-
 ‘ corners. It would then be impossible to
 ‘ raise our taxes, and consequently impossible
 ‘ to

' to maintain either fleets or armies. Our
 ' troops abroad would be obliged to enter
 ' into the service of any prince that could
 ' maintain them, and our troops at home
 ' would be obliged to live upon free quarter.
 ' Nay, this they could not do long ; for the
 ' farmer would neither sow nor reap if he
 ' found his produce taken from him by the
 ' starving foldier. In these circumstances I
 ' must desire the real friends of our present
 ' happy establishment to consider what might
 ' be the consequence of the Pretender's being
 ' landed amongst us at the head of a French
 ' army. Would not he be looked upon by
 ' most as a third Saviour ? Would not the ma-
 ' jority of the people join with him, in order
 ' to rescue the nation from those that had
 ' brought it into such confusion ?

' This danger, Sir, is, I hope, one of those
 ' that may be called imaginary ; but I am
 ' sure it is far from being so imaginary as that
 ' we have been frightened with in this debate,
 ' of all the powers of the continent of Europe
 ' being brought under such a slavish depend-
 ' ence upon France as to join with that nation
 ' in conquering this island, or in bringing it

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‘ under the same slavish dependence with
‘ themselves.

‘ I had almost forgot, Sir, to take notice
‘ of the famous treaty of Worms; and I wish
‘ after-ages may never take notice of it. I
‘ wish it could be erased out of our annals, as
‘ well as records, so as never to be hereafter
‘ mentioned; for that treaty, with its appen-
‘ dix, the convention that followed it, is one
‘ of the most destructive, unjust, and ridiculous
‘ treaties we ever made. By that treaty we
‘ have taken upon ourselves a burthen which
‘ I think impossible for us to support; and we
‘ have engaged in such an act of injustice to-
‘ wards Genoa as must alarm all Europe, and
‘ give the French a signal advantage; for from
‘ thence all the princes of Europe will see
‘ what regard we have to justice, where we
‘ think we have power; and therefore most
‘ of them will probably join with France in
‘ curtailing our power, or at least in prevent-
‘ ing its increase. The alliance of Sardinia
‘ and his assistance may, I admit, be of great
‘ use to us in defeating the designs of the
‘ Spaniards in Italy; but gold itself may be
‘ bought too dear; and I am afraid we shall
‘ find

‘ find the purchase we have made to be at least
 ‘ but a precarious bargain, especially if Sar-
 ‘ dinia should be attacked by France as well
 ‘ as Spain, which will be the certain conse-
 ‘ quence of the scheme of politics we are now
 ‘ pursuing. For these reasons, Sir, I hope
 ‘ no gentleman, nor even any minister, will
 ‘ expect that I should declare my satisfaction
 ‘ at that treaty’s being concluded.

‘ It is very surprising, Sir, to hear gentle-
 ‘ men talk of the great advantage of unani-
 ‘ mity in our proceedings, when at the same
 ‘ time they are doing all they can to prevent
 ‘ unanimity. If the hon. gentleman had in-
 ‘ tended that what he proposed should be
 ‘ unanimously agreed to, he would have re-
 ‘ turned to the ancient custom of Parliament,
 ‘ which some of his new friends have so often
 ‘ upon former occasions recommended. It is
 ‘ a new doctrine to pretend that we ought in
 ‘ our address to return some sort of answer to
 ‘ every thing mentioned in his Majesty’s
 ‘ speech. It is a doctrine that has prevailed
 ‘ only since our Parliaments began to look
 ‘ more like a French than an English Parlia-
 ‘ ment; and now we pretend to be such ene-

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‘ mies to France, I suspected we should have
‘ laid aside this doctrine. The very method
‘ of proceeding in Parliament must shew this
‘ doctrine to be false. His Majesty’s speech
‘ is not now so much as under our considera-
‘ tion, but upon a previous order for that
‘ purpose; therefore we cannot now properly
‘ take notice of its contents, any further than
‘ to determine whether we ought to return
‘ thanks for it or no; for even this is what
‘ we may refuse, without being guilty of any
‘ breach of duty to our Sovereign; but this I
‘ believe no gentleman would have thought
‘ of if the hon. gentleman who made this
‘ motion had not tacked to it a long and ful-
‘ some panegyric upon the conduct of our
‘ ministers. I am convinced no gentleman
‘ would have objected against our expressing
‘ our duty to our Sovereign, and our zeal for
‘ his service, in the most strong and affec-
‘ tionate terms; nor would any gentleman
‘ have refused to congratulate his Majesty
‘ upon any fortunate event happening to the
‘ royal family; and the hon. gentleman
‘ would have desired no more if he had in-
‘ tended that his motion should be unani-
‘ mously agreed to; but as ministers are ge-
‘ nerally

‘ nerally the authors and drawers up of the
 ‘ motion, they always have a greater regard
 ‘ for themselves than for the service of their
 ‘ Sovereign; and this is the true reason why
 ‘ such motions seldom meet with an unani-
 ‘ mous approbation.

‘ As for the danger, Sir, of our returning,
 ‘ or not returning, to our national custom
 ‘ upon this occasion, I think it lies wholly
 ‘ upon the side of our not returning. I have
 ‘ shewn that the measures we are now pursu-
 ‘ ing are fundamentally wrong, and that the
 ‘ longer we do pursue them, the heavier our
 ‘ misfortunes will be. Unless some signal
 ‘ providence intervenes, experience, I am
 ‘ sure, will confirm what I say. By the im-
 ‘ mediate intervention of Providence, we may,
 ‘ it is true, succeed in the most improbable
 ‘ schemes; but Providence seems to be against
 ‘ us. The sooner therefore we repent, the
 ‘ better it will be for us; and unless repent-
 ‘ ance begins in this House, I shall expect it
 ‘ no where else, till dire experience has con-
 ‘ vinced us of our being in the wrong.

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‘ For this reason I hope and I wish that
‘ we may now begin to put a stop to the far-
‘ ther prosecution of these destructive and
‘ dangerous measures, by refusing them our
‘ approbation. If we put a negative upon
‘ this question, it may awaken our ministers
‘ out of their deceitful dream. If we agree to
‘ it, they will dream on till they have dreamed
‘ Europe and their country, as well as them-
‘ selves, into perdition. If they stop now,
‘ the nation may recover; but if by such a
‘ flattering address we encourage them to go
‘ on, it may soon become impossible for them
‘ to retreat; and therefore, for the sake of
‘ Europe, as well as my country, I shall
‘ most heartily join in putting a negative
‘ upon this question.’

The address was agreed to.

1744.

On the 12th of January 1744, the report from the Committee of Supply being made to the House, viz. “ That 634,344*l.* be granted for defraying the charge of 21,358 effective men, to be employed in Flanders in 1744,” Mr. *Pitt* spoke against agreeing with the com-

mittee, in this resolution, to the following purport:

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‘ As it is not the custom, at this time, to
‘ lay before Parliament any information of
‘ our public measures, which, as well as the
‘ motives for adopting them, are too great
‘ secrets to be communicated to this House, I
‘ protest I know nothing of them; nor can I,
‘ from any public appearances, judge of them.
‘ No man can, who has not an intimate cor-
‘ respondence with some of our ministers of
‘ the closet, which, I thank God, I have not;
‘ and therefore if I mistake, or mistake, our
‘ late or present measures, I hope the gentle-
‘ men, who think themselves happy in having
‘ such a correspondence, will excuse me.

Speech
against send-
ing troops
to Flanders.

‘ There are two points, Sir, which ought
‘ to be considered, and fully discussed, before
‘ we agree to the hon. gentleman’s motion;
‘ and they are, first, the end of our giving
‘ assistance to the Queen of Hungary; and,
‘ second, the manner in which we are to give
‘ that assistance. If the French still insist
‘ upon taking a great part of the Queen of
‘ Hungary’s dominions in Germany from
‘ her,

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her, and giving them to the Emperor, in order to induce him to agree to their taking Flanders, or something else, to themselves, I think we ought to endeavour, *totis viribus*, to prevent such a scheme's taking effect; because I am, and always have been, of opinion, that the monarchy of France is already more powerful than is consistent with the safety of Europe. I thought so even before they made the acquisition of Lorrain, which they were permitted to do, by a most criminal connivance of our ministers, at a time when we had a better opportunity than, I am afraid, we shall ever have again, for reducing the power of the House of Bourbon. If this, therefore, were the end of our giving assistance to the Queen of Hungary, I should approve of our giving her our utmost assistance; yet, even in this case, I should not agree to the hon. gentleman's motion, because I do not approve of the manner he proposes for giving her our assistance.

But, Sir, if the French have entirely departed from this scheme; if they departed from it as soon as they found themselves
abandoned.

‘ abandoned by Prussia and Saxony; if they
‘ were then willing, as I believe they were,
‘ to restore the peace of Germany, upon the
‘ single condition of the Queen of Hungary’s
‘ restoring to the Emperor his hereditary do-
‘ minions, I think we ought not to have en-
‘ couraged her by our assistance to have con-
‘ tinued the war in Germany, and much less
‘ ought we to encourage her, which I am
‘ afraid we do, to think of procuring, by our
‘ assistance, an equivalent from France, for
‘ what she has yielded to Prussia and Saxony
‘ in Germany. If this be the end of our as-
‘ sisting her, I disapprove of the end as
‘ much as I do of the manner; and I disap-
‘ prove of it, not because I should not be glad
‘ to see the power of France reduced, but be-
‘ cause I think the present a very improper
‘ time either for the Queen of Hungary or
‘ us to think of it. There is a certain spirit
‘ which prevails, and by which courts as well
‘ as private men are governed. This spirit a
‘ wise and considerate minister will always
‘ have great regard to, and will take his
‘ measures accordingly; for the world is not
‘ to be directed by every whim that may
‘ enter into the head of an ignorant though
‘ enter.

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enterprising minister. The ambitious schemes of the late King of France had raised a spirit of jealousy against that monarchy, in almost every court of Europe, which produced several confederacies against it; and one at last which brought it to the brink of perdition. Since his death the court of France, being made sensible by experience of the danger of raising such a spirit, have guarded against doing so as much as possible, so that there is now no such spirit in any court in Europe; but, on the contrary, there is a spirit of jealousy among all the Princes of Germany against the power of the House of Austria; therefore no one court in Europe will join with us and the Queen of Hungary in this project against France.

When I say so, Sir, I mean humanly speaking; for the race I know is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Suppose then that Providence should work miracles in our favour, and give us unexpected success against France in the execution of this design. Suppose their armies, like that of the Midianites, should set every man his sword

‘ sword against his fellow, and their walls,
 ‘ like those of Jericho, fall down flat before
 ‘ us; yet can we suppose that the Princes of
 ‘ Germany, who are so jealous of the power
 ‘ of the House of Austria, especially such of
 ‘ them as have lately got hold of some part of
 ‘ the Austrian territories; I say, can we sup-
 ‘ pose that those Princes would sit still and see
 ‘ the power of the House of Austria vastly
 ‘ increased, and the monarchy of France
 ‘ very much reduced, when it is so evident
 ‘ that the preservation of the possessions they
 ‘ have so lately acquired, and perhaps their
 ‘ future independency, must depend chiefly
 ‘ upon the friendship and assistance of France?
 ‘ It is, I think, almost certain that, in case
 ‘ of our success, they would all unite together
 ‘ for putting a stop to it.

‘ Thus, Sir, if the procuring the Queen of
 ‘ Hungary an equivalent from France be the
 ‘ end or design of our maintaining an army
 ‘ in Flanders, it is so evidently impracticable,
 ‘ that I am convinced it cannot be the true
 ‘ end. It must be a pretence made use of for
 ‘ covering some hidden design, which our
 ‘ ministers dare not own, and which would
 ‘ cer-

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' certainly cost some of them their heads, if
 ' it should be proved against them : I mean
 ' that of lavishing the blood and treasure of
 ' England, for the sake of getting an oppor-
 ' tunity to maintain 16,000 Hanoverians, or
 ' for the sake of getting some little territories
 ' added to the dominions of that Electorate.
 ' And if the end be to defeat the French in
 ' their scheme of taking a great part of the
 ' Queen of Hungary's dominions from her,
 ' and giving them to the Emperor, that he
 ' may consent to some additions being made
 ' to their monarchy, we ought to be well
 ' convinced that there is still some such scheme
 ' *in petto*, before we agree to load our country
 ' with so great an expence; because, from the
 ' public accounts we have great reason to be-
 ' lieve that, if ever the French had such a
 ' scheme, they have now given it up; and
 ' because we have no reason to believe that
 ' the French would embark in a scheme
 ' which must be attended with great danger,
 ' difficulty, and expence to them, when un-
 ' assisted by any of the Princes of Germany.
 ' The only hopes they can now have of being
 ' able to execute such a scheme, must arise
 ' from our encouraging the Queen of Hun-
 ' gary

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‘ gary to be immoderate in her demands,
‘ which may raise the jealousy of the German
‘ Princes to such a height as may force them
‘ to join again in an alliance with France, for
‘ reducing her power, and putting an end to
‘ her ambitious views.

‘ In all I have yet said, Sir, I have not
‘ mentioned Italy, because I believe no one
‘ is so ignorant as to suppose that, in order to
‘ assist the Queen of Hungary to preserve her
‘ dominions in Italy, the best method is to
‘ form an army in Flanders, or to attempt to
‘ make an impression upon France on that
‘ side where every one knows their monarchy
‘ is the best guarded, and the least susceptible
‘ of an impression; therefore, no one surely
‘ will pretend, that this is the end of our
‘ forming or maintaining an army in
‘ Flanders.

‘ I shall now, Sir, consider the manner in
‘ which we ought to assist the Queen of Hun-
‘ gary; and let the end be what it will, I am
‘ very sure the manner proposed is in every
‘ respect wrong. I must lay it down, and I
‘ shall always consider it as a certain maxim,
‘ that

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' that we ought never to think of assisting any
 ' of our allies upon the continent with a great
 ' number of troops. If we send any of our
 ' troops to their assistance, it ought always to
 ' be rather with a view to give our gentlemen
 ' an opportunity to improve themselves in the
 ' military art, than with a view to assist our
 ' allies. They have no occasion for our men,
 ' and the Queen of Hungary less than any
 ' other. She has men, and brave men too,
 ' in abundance.' She only wants money to
 ' arm and support them. Therefore, the
 ' only manner in which we ought to think of
 ' supporting her, or any other of our allies
 ' upon the continent, is with our money and
 ' our navy. And my reason for laying this
 ' down as a maxim is, not only because the
 ' sea is our natural element, but because it is
 ' dangerous to our liberties, as well as de-
 ' structive to our trade, to encourage great
 ' numbers of our people to make the profes-
 ' sion of arms their trade, so as to depend
 ' upon that alone for their livelihood. A
 ' farmer, a day-labourer, a cobbler, may be a
 ' good soldier, if you take care to have him
 ' properly disciplined, and always will be
 ' ready to defend his country, in case of an at-
 ' tack;

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‘ tack ; but as he has another way of living,
 ‘ he may be a good subject ; whereas a man
 ‘ who has no other way of living, can never
 ‘ be a good subject, especially in a free
 ‘ country ; and for this reason we ought to
 ‘ have as few of them as possible, either abroad
 ‘ or at home. At least they ought never to
 ‘ be kept long in the service ; for after a long
 ‘ disuse, there are very few of them can af-
 ‘ terwards turn to any industrious employ-
 ‘ ment for their support.

‘ Another reason is, Sir, because custom
 ‘ has made our troops more expensive than
 ‘ those of any other country ; and therefore
 ‘ our money will always be of more service to
 ‘ our allies, because it will enable them to
 ‘ raise and maintain a greater number of troops
 ‘ than we can furnish them with for the same
 ‘ sum of money. This, Sir, I shall prove by
 ‘ figures, which are such strange obstinate
 ‘ things, that they will not twist and wind at
 ‘ the pleasure of a minister, or any of his
 ‘ friends. By the motion now before us,
 ‘ our own troops in Flanders are to cost us for
 ‘ next year 634,344*l.* and I suppose the 16,000
 ‘ Hanoverians will cost us near 400,000*l.*—
 ‘ To

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‘ To these two sums I shall add 200,000*l.* for
 ‘ contingent money; for I believe we shall
 ‘ find that this article for last year amounts to
 ‘ a much larger sum. These three articles
 ‘ make 1,234,344*l.* I shall call it the even
 ‘ sum of 1,200,000*l.* which we must pay
 ‘ next year, for maintaining an army of
 ‘ 37,000 men, one third part of which I shall
 ‘ suppose to be horse or dragoons. Now if
 ‘ we had sent this sum to the Queen of Hun-
 ‘ gary, let us see what an additional number
 ‘ of men she might have maintained with it.
 ‘ By several treaties, and particularly by the
 ‘ accession of the States-General to the Vienna
 ‘ treaty of 1731, the charge of 1000 foot is
 ‘ fixed at 10,000 guilders per month; which
 ‘ in sterling money, at the rate of 10 guilders
 ‘ 16 stivers per pound sterling, is 926*l.*; and
 ‘ the charge of 1000 horse is fixed at 30,000
 ‘ guilders for the same time, which is 2778*l.*;
 ‘ so that 1,200,000*l.* would have maintained
 ‘ near 108,000 foot for the Queen of Hun-
 ‘ gary, or near 36,000 horse; or it would
 ‘ have maintained an army for her of 54,000
 ‘ foot and 18,000 horse for the ensuing year;
 ‘ and I must ask even our ministers if they do
 ‘ not think that an additional army of 72,000
 ‘ men,

‘ men, to be employed wherever she pleased,
 ‘ would have been of more service to her and
 ‘ the common cause, as they are pleased to call
 ‘ it, than our 37,000 men in Flanders? For
 ‘ though I will not allow that any of her
 ‘ troops are better than the British, yet I may
 ‘ take upon me to say, that the worst of her
 ‘ troops are better than the Hanoverians were
 ‘ ever yet supposed to be.

‘ But now, Sir, suppose we could think it
 ‘ of advantage to the common cause to assist
 ‘ the Queen of Hungary with troops instead
 ‘ of money, the very worst place we could think
 ‘ of sending these troops to, or employing
 ‘ them in, is Flanders. If we had formed no
 ‘ army there, the French would have formed
 ‘ no army there, nor would they have at-
 ‘ tacked any place there, for fear of provok-
 ‘ ing the Dutch to declare against them.—
 ‘ Whereas, if we form an army next summer
 ‘ in Flanders, though we do not begin to act of-
 ‘ fensively with that army, as I firmly believe
 ‘ we do not intend to do, it may furnish the
 ‘ French with an excuse for attacking the
 ‘ Queen of Hungary in that country, and
 ‘ that excuse may be admitted by the Dutch,

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‘ who seem at present to have no sort of jea-
 ‘ lousy of France; and for that, as well as se-
 ‘ veral other reasons, they seem resolved not
 ‘ to enter into any of our romantic schemes.
 ‘ If we must assist the Queen of Hungary with
 ‘ troops, why did they not stay and take win-
 ‘ ter-quarters in Germany, or upon the Rhine,
 ‘ by which we might have secured a passage
 ‘ for Prince Charles in the spring? If it be al-
 ‘ leged, that the Princes and Circles of the
 ‘ Empire would not admit of our troops
 ‘ taking winter-quarters within the Empire,
 ‘ this of itself was alone a good reason for our
 ‘ calling home our troops, dismissing our
 ‘ mercenaries, and resolving to assist the
 ‘ Queen of Hungary for the future, as we
 ‘ ought to have done from the beginning,
 ‘ solely with our money, and our squadron
 ‘ in the Mediterranean.

‘ In short, Sir, as I could at first see no
 ‘ reason for sending our troops to Flanders,
 ‘ unless it was to furnish our ministers with a
 ‘ pretence for loading us with the maintenance
 ‘ of 16,000 Hanoverians, I can now see no
 ‘ reason for our keeping them there, unless it
 ‘ be to furnish a pretence for continuing that

‘load upon us; and as I think our keeping
‘them there may be attended with infinite
‘danger to the cause of the Queen of Hun-
‘gary, I cannot therefore agree with the re-
‘port of the committee.’

The report was agreed to.

Some apology or explanation is necessary, Explan-
tion. for inserting the preceding speeches, under the name of Mr. *Pitt*.—The reader has undoubtedly observed, that the style in which they are written, does not seem to preserve Mr. *Pitt*’s language or phrase; but they have been printed in the Parliamentary Debates of this period; and it has not come to the Editor’s knowledge that there is any better, or even any other, account of them. They were written by a Mr. *Gordon*, a minister of the church of Scotland, originally for the London Magazine—when Dr. *Samuel Johnson* ceased to write the speeches for the Gentleman’s Magazine; or rather when *Cave*, the printer of that miscellany, was punished for printing them. *Gordon* continued some sketches of them, with less accuracy, and in inferior language, but with more attention to the ar-

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gument, until the death of *Frederick Prince of Wales*, in 1751. His practice was to go to the coffee-houses contiguous to Westminster Hall, where he frequently heard the members conversing with each other upon what had passed in the House; and sometimes he gained admission into the gallery; and as he was known to a few of the gentlemen, two or three of them, upon particular occasions, furnished him with some information.

The vigorous opposition which Mr. *Pitt* had made in Parliament to the measures pursued for the defence of Hanover, raised him very high in the esteem of the English nation. He had for some years been admired as an orator—he was now revered as a patriot. The spirit and energy which distinguished his parliamentary conduct, evinced that he was actuated by principle, not by an illiberal passion to display the superiority of his talents; that his opposition was the result of conviction, not of pique; that it was not founded in a personal consideration of the men who held the offices of government, but in an indignant abhorrence of the measures which, he said, insulated Great Britain from a participation of
the

the advantages her money was voted to procure, and gave her a right to demand.

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Amongst the many persons of elevated rank who honoured this conduct of Mr. *Pitt* with the warmest approbation, was *Sarah* Duchess Dowager of *Marlborough*. This lady, by a codicil to her will, dated on the 11th of August 1744, gave to Mr. *Pitt* a legacy, in these words* :—

Duchess of
Marlbo-
rough's le-
gacy.

“ I also give to *William Pitt*, of the parish
“ of St. James, within the liberty of West-
“ minster, Esq. the sum of Ten Thousand
“ Pounds, upon account of his merit, in the
“ noble defence he has made for the support
“ of the laws of England, and to prevent the
“ ruin of his country.”

* She died in October following, and the money was paid.

CHAP. VI.

STATE OF THE MINISTRY.—LORD CARLISLE DISAPPOINTED OF THE PRIVY SEAL.—LORD COBHAM JOINS THE PELHAMS.—LORD GRANVILLE OPPOSED IN COUNCIL, AND RESIGNS.—THE BROAD BOTTOM MINISTRY APPOINTED.—MR. PITT'S REPLY TO SIR FRANCIS DASHWOOD, ON THE ADDRESS.—MR. PITT'S REPLY TO MR. HUME CAMPBELL, ON THE NOBLEMEN'S NEW-RAISED REGIMENTS.

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State of the
ministry.

FROM the time that Sir *Robert Walpole* had been compelled to relinquish the government, the British councils had not been influenced by the principles of any system, plan, or regulation. It was a government of expedients, proceeding fortuitously; too cowardly to act upon a bold measure, and too ignorant to frame a wise one. The members of the cabinet being composed of deserters from all parties, became a faction, without confidence in each other. Lord *Bath*, who had been their creator, was the only cement which held them together.

It has been observed that Lord *Carteret*, who had been made secretary of state by Lord *Bath*,

Bath, had gained an ascendancy in the closet, by favouring the predilections of the King respecting Hanover. This ascendancy alarmed the other members of the cabinet. They beheld with jealousy Lord *Carteret's* increasing influence with the King. There was, however, a manly firmness and dignified deportment in Lord *Carteret's* conduct. His German measures were always communicated to the British cabinet in the *first* instance; nor was there any attempt ever made to carry them into execution, until they had been proposed to, and adopted by, his colleagues in office. But had the King concerted them *secretly* with his Hanoverian council, and not communicated the information to his British ministers, until it was necessary to involve his British dominions in the expence, and when it was too late to make any alteration; —it is more than probable that Lord *Carteret* would, in such a case, have laid the seals at his Majesty's feet.

It has long been seen clearly, and said by wise and honest men, that the foundation of all other factions is the faction at court. The court faction, which had been lately formed

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1744.

by Lord *Bath*, gave rise to several factions. During these disputes Lord *Cobham* and his friends kept aloof.

The unsettled state of the ministry was made apparent to the whole kingdom, by the contention amongst them for the office of privy seal, which Lord *Gower* had resigned. Lord *Bath*, who interfered upon this occasion, and affected to act by the authority of the King, sent for Lord *Carlisle*, and assured his Lordship he should be appointed to it; and Lord *Carlisle* thought himself so sure of the place, that he informed his friends the appointment was made. The *Pelbams* resisted this scheme of Lord *Bath*'s with all their might; and the Duke of *Newcastle* went to the King and demanded the place for Lord *Cholmondeley*. Those who knew the King said his Majesty was taken by surprise, and consented with reluctance. Several other alterations were made, by which the power of Lord *Bath*'s friends was decreased, and that of the *Pelbams* advanced. This arrangement, however, was but of short duration. The two parties continued to struggle for superiority.

A war with France was the favourite measure of the King at this time, on account of his German dominions, which were exposed to the enmity of France, by his alliance with the court of Vienna; and Lord *Carteret*, who was now become Earl *Granville*, by the death of his mother, entering fully into his Majesty's views respecting this war, became a favourite in the closet.

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The circumstance of a favourite in that situation was a matter of great alarm to those who could not endure a rival. Sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops were last year taken into British pay. This measure was extremely obnoxious to the nation. Lord *Granville* avowed the measure, and being secure, as he thought, of the King's support, he treated his colleagues with some hauteur, in a debate in council upon it.

The *Pelhams* were now convinced that Lord *Granville* was both their rival and enemy; and therefore they resolved to remove, if possible, so dangerous a competitor. In order to carry this point, their first step was to strengthen their party. They made overtures to Lord
Cobham,

Lord Cobham joins the Pelhams.

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Cobham, who, at the request of the Duke of *Newcastle*, met his Grace at Lord *Harrington*'s. At this meeting the accession of Lord *Cobham* was settled. The principal terms were, that the expence of the Hanoverian measures should be diminished, and that his Lordship's friends should be included in the next change of the ministry. With respect to his Lordship and the *Granvilles*, the matter was easy; all the difficulty was concerning Mr. *Pitt*. The King had entertained a violent prejudice against him, on account of his opposition to German measures. This prejudice Lord *Granville* was supposed to have increased, by stating in the closet, more than once, Mr. *Pitt*'s parliamentary conduct in the most unfavourable light. The Duke of *Newcastle* promised to remove this prejudice from the King's mind, and to accommodate Mr. *Pitt* at a future period, which he assured Lord *Cobham* should not be far distant.

The junction of Lord *Cobham* with the *Pelhams*, influenced several others to follow his example; such as Sir *John Hind Cotton*, Mr. *Waller*, Mr. *Doddington*, and many more; so that this junction had the effect of
a coali-

a coalition of parties. Indeed it must be confessed that all parties, except Lord *Bath's*, joined in opposing Lord *Granville*.

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This union was negotiated and completed during the summer and autumn of 1744.—The first effects of it were felt by Lord *Granville*, in a council called on the affairs of Hanover, previous to the meeting of Parliament; when his Lordship proposed to *continue* the sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops in British pay, for the year 1745. This proposition was strongly opposed, and the council divided upon it. Four and himself were for it, and eleven against it. Eight thousand only was the number agreed upon.

Lord Granville opposed in council.

Upon this defeat Lord *Granville* took his resolution to resign; and accordingly waited on his Majesty, on Tuesday the fourteenth of November 1744, and resigned the seals.

Lord Granville resigns.

A new administration was immediately formed, or perhaps had been already formed; which, from the circumstance of its having arisen out of the coalition of parties already mentioned, was commonly denominated *the Broad*

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Broad Bottom. [The particulars of this change the reader will find in the general list of changes at the end of the work.]

1745.

Parliament met in November 1744, and exhibited such a scene of unanimity as had not been seen since the King's accession. The session closed on the second of May 1745; immediately after which the King went to Hanover, having first added Lord *Cobham* to the list of Lords Justices for the administration of government during his absence, created him Field Marshal, and given him a regiment of horse (late *Neville's*).

In October 1745 Parliament met, on account of the Scots rebellion. There was a short debate upon the address, in answer to the King's speech, occasioned by an amendment offered by Sir *Francis Dashwood*, afterwards Lord *Le Despencer*, expressing, "That for the firmer establishment of his Majesty's throne on the solid basis of his people's affections, it shall be our speedy care to frame such bills as may effectually secure to his Majesty's subjects the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right to be freely and fairly repre-

represented in Parliaments, frequently chosen, and exempted from undue influence of every kind."

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The motion was seconded by Sir *John Phillips*.

Mr. *Pitt* opposed the motion. 'The amendment,' he said, 'being offered at a time so extremely improper as the present, was fraught with a dangerous tendency. There was only one motive to which this motion could be ascribed; and it was, to make ministers odious in the eyes of the people, if they put a negative upon it. But the contrary, however, he would venture to say, would be the fact; for although motions of this kind are always popular, yet in this hour of distress and difficulty, when rebellion raged in the kingdom, and an invasion from France was expected, when the people were seriously intent upon measures of the highest consequence, they could not think favourably of those who attempted to draw off their attention from subjects of alarm to points of speculation. In such circumstances shall we,' he asked, 'employ ourselves in
' con-

Mr. Pitt's
reply.

M. S.

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‘ contriving bills to guard our liberties from
 ‘ corruption, when we are in danger of losing
 ‘ them, and every thing else that is dear to
 ‘ us, by the force of arms? Would not this be
 ‘ like a man’s amusing himself with making
 ‘ regulations to prevent his servants cheating
 ‘ him, at the very time that thieves were
 ‘ breaking into his house? But why are we
 ‘ to introduce this subject into the address?
 ‘ No county, nor city, nor corporation have
 ‘ requested their representatives to bring in
 ‘ any such bills; the people are every-where
 ‘ engaged in making subscriptions and form-
 ‘ ing associations for defending their Sovereign
 ‘ and themselves, against those who have
 ‘ traiterously conspired to rob him of his
 ‘ crown, and them of their liberties. Do
 ‘ gentlemen wish to give a turn to the spirit
 ‘ of the people, to create a contention about
 ‘ the constitution, that the kingdom may fall
 ‘ an easy prey to the enemy? If, Sir, I did
 ‘ not know the hon. gentlemen who made
 ‘ and seconded this motion, I should really
 ‘ suspect their having some such design; and
 ‘ however much I may, from my own per-
 ‘ sonal knowledge, be convinced that they
 ‘ have no such design, they may be assured
 ‘ that,

‘ that, if they do not withdraw their motion,
 ‘ the suspicion will be strong against them
 ‘ amongst those persons who had not the ho-
 ‘ nour of their acquaintance.’

The motion was negatived without a division.

On the fourth of November 1745, the hon. *Alex. Hume Campbell**, brother to Lord *Marchmont*, moved, “ That an address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to beseech his Majesty, that the officers in the new † re-

* This gentleman had been brought into Parliament on purpose to oppose Mr. *Pitt*. Some time after, he left his friends, and was appointed Solicitor General to the Prince of *Wales*; but on the second of February 1746, he was dismissed from that Prince’s service.

† Several noblemen having raised regiments, on account of the Scots rebellion, for the service of his Majesty, these new regiments were,

HORSE:

Duke of Montagu’s,	Duke of Kingston’s.
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FOOT:

Duke of Bolton’s,	Earl of Halifax’s,
Duke of Bedford’s,	Lord Viscount Falmouth’s,
Duke of Montagu’s,	Lord Viscount Harcourt’s,
Duke of Ancafter’s,	Lord Gower’s,
Marquis of Granby’s,	Lord Herbert’s,
Earl of Cholmondeley’s,	Lord Edgumbe’s.

giments,

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giments, now raising, or already raised, may not be allowed any rank after those regiments are broke."

Mr. Pitt's
reply to Mr.
Hume
Campbell.

Mr. *Pitt* reprobated this motion with warmth and indignation. He said, ' That a
' commission and the rank implied by it were
' inseparable. A commission contained a
' power conferred by the King, by which the
' person who received it became subordinate
' to some, and superior to others. The mo-
' tion,' he contended, ' was irrational, con-
' trary to common sense, and impracticable,
' as well as impolitic, by tending to discour-
' age those noble persons who were exerting
' their utmost influence in the service of their
' country. The officers who are to be em-
' ployed under them are, by this motion,' he
said, ' to be stigmatized as unworthy of rank.
' These gentlemen are not driven into the
' army by necessity, but are offering them-
' selves to serve their country in the day of
' distress, from motives of the warmest zeal.
' And shall we disgrace these men? Shall we
' check their noble and generous ardour in
' the hour of danger? Those who desire the
' House to agree to this motion cannot be se-
' rious,

' rious, or if serious, cannot be aware of the
 ' obvious construction of their conduct. Is
 ' this the time (he asked), that loyalty ought
 ' to be stigmatized instead of being rewarded
 ' with honour? Are gentlemen endeavouring
 ' to obtain that object by oblique paths, from
 ' which they are restrained in the direct way?
 ' The motion at best is suspicious; it is para-
 ' doxical.

' The argument in support of the motion is
 ' an insult upon the whole army; for it is
 ' this, that the army will behold with discon-
 ' tent this new promotion of officers. The
 ' very assertion is an impeachment of the alle-
 ' giance of the army. It would be a reproach
 ' to the dignity of this House if our delibera-
 ' tions here were to be influenced by the views
 ' of any class of men. The right of deciding
 ' what measures are most conducive to the
 ' public interest and security belongs not to
 ' the army, but to this House.

' Those who advise us to deny rank to the
 ' new officers, advise us to deny what the
 ' King has already granted, and what he had
 ' an undoubted right to grant; they advise us

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‘ to vacate his commissions, and to break his
‘ promises; they advise us to weaken him, at
‘ the time that he wants the most assistance;
‘ and to shew to our enemies that he is at va-
‘ riance with his Parliament.’

The motion was negatived.

CHAP. VII.

ERRORS OF HISTORY.—LORD BATH AT COURT.—HIS OVERTURES TO LORD COBHAM.—DUKE OF NEWCASTLE ASKS THE PLACE OF SECRETARY AT WAR FOR MR. PITT, AND IS REFUSED.—MINISTRY RESIGN.—LORD GRANVILLE APPOINTED SECRETARY OF STATE.—LORD GRANVILLE RESIGNS, AND THE LATE MINISTRY RESTORED.—MR. PITT MADE VICE-TREASURER OF IRELAND, AND AFTERWARDS PAYMASTER.—MAKES NO PRIVATE USE OF THE PUBLIC MONEY IN HIS HANDS.—REFUSES TO ACCEPT THE PERQUISITE OF OFFICE ON THE SARDINIAN SUBSIDY.

THE versatility of courts has been the popular theme of writers during several of the latter centuries. It would have been more to the honour of history had the causes of such mutability been explained. But it has been the misfortune of the public, that few of the modern historians have been in situations in which they might obtain true information.—This has more than once occasioned Lord *Mansfield*, and other great men, to say, that nothing is so false as *history*. *Tindall*, *Smollett*, *Goldsmith*, and a long train of others, have stated, that about this time a very extraordinary change took place in the British ministry—that Lord *Granville* was made minister, and

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the *Pelhams* resigned ; that in a few days afterwards Lord *Granville* resigned, and the *Pelhams* were restored. The London Gazette furnishes them with the *appointments* and the *dates*, which are the only facts to be depended upon; all the rest being of their own invention. Dr. *Newton* says that Lord *Bath* wrote an account of these transactions, at the desire of *George* the Second ; but that on the death of his son, Lord *Pulteney*, in the reign of *George* the Third, his Lordship burned it —*sic* indignus. If it had been written at the desire of the King, it is more than probable that it would have been published. However, if it was not more true than the account of the great change of the ministry in the year 1742, written by the same hand, and given us by Dr. *Newton*, the loss is not important, nor deserving of regret.

Upon the King's return from Hanover, Lord *Cobham* claimed of the Duke of *Newcastle* the performance of his promise respecting Mr. *Pitt*. The Duke wished to postpone the matter; but Lord *Cobham* insisted upon it. At length his Grace undertook to lay the affair before the King. A more unfavourable
oppor-

opportunity could not have been chosen. The King was at this time dissatisfied with his ministers. The dismissal of eight thousand Hanoverians he imputed to their personal dislike of Lord *Granville*; and the rapid progress of the rebellion he imputed to their negligence while he was abroad. He suspected that the *Pelbams* were averse to war, which was true; and he had conceived an idea, probably from Lord *Granville*, when his Lordship was minister, that war at this time was his only resource. It was an omission in the *Broad Bottom* treaty, that Lord *Bath* had not been proscribed; for soon after the King's return from the continent, his Lordship appeared at court several times, and was each time honoured with an audience. His own friends have said, that in these audiences he did not fail to exaggerate the causes of the King's disgust with his servants, and to flatter the abilities of his friend Lord *Granville*; and to warmly represent his zeal for his Majesty. The French war was Lord *Granville*'s favourite measure; it was also the King's. On this great point, as well as in some lesser ones, there was a coincidence of sentiment between

Lord Bath
at court.

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them, which naturally produced a partiality in favour of Lord *Granville*.

Lord Bath's
 • First to Lord
 Cobham.

During the time that Lord *Bath* was thus improving his interest in the closet, he made overtures to Lord *Cobham*, with a view to form a new administration; in which he offered to include Mr. *Pitt*. But Lord *Cobham* returned an answer, importing that Lord *Bath* had deceived him in 1742, and he should not dupe him in 1745. This refusal of Lord *Cobham* gave his Lordship a stronger claim upon the Duke of *Newcastle*. The common language of Lord *Bath*'s and Lord *Granville*'s friends at this time was, that the King was surrounded by a faction; that he was a prisoner upon his throne; and that an administration on a *broad bottom* ought to be formed, for the interest of the country, and for the *emancipation* of the King.

At length the *Pelhams* took the alarm; and, whether from the apprehension of losing Lord *Cobham*, or of losing their places, or both; the Duke of *Newcastle* resolved to lay before his Majesty a list of some alterations in the inferior

ferior departments of Government which they intended to make, in order to introduce Mr. *Pitt*, who, in this arrangement, they proposed for Secretary at War, in the room of Sir *William Yonge*, to be made one of the Vice-treasurers of Ireland. But when the King came to Mr. *Pitt*'s name, he gave an immediate and positive refusal to the whole list. The Duke stated to his Majesty his engagement with Lord *Cobham*; the King angrily replied, *Then he must break his engagement.*

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Mr. Pitt intended for Secretary at War.

Lord *Bath* and Lord *Granville* instantly seized this opportunity of improving their influence in the closet. Their friends applauded in the warmest terms of panegyric the spirit which the King had shewn in the rejection of Mr. *Pitt*; and they added, "that Lord *Bath* had advised his Majesty to stand steady, and be true to his own interest."

In consequence of the King's negative on the proposed employment of Mr. *Pitt*, the Duke of *Newcastle* met Lord *Cobham* again at Lord *Harrington*'s. After some conversation on the necessity of *resigning*, and the Duke

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saying that Lord *Hardwicke* was decidedly of that opinion, and had both suggested and warmly recommended the measure of a *general resignation*, the Duke put this question, —“ Will Lord *Cobham* and his friends adhere to us (the *Pelhams*) in and out of court, if we engage never to negotiate with the court without including Lord *Cobham* and all his friends?” Lord *Cobham* confessed the proposition was so handsome, he could not, as a man of honour, refuse giving it his most hearty assent. This compact being made, and the union thus cemented between the great parliamentary interests and the great parliamentary abilities, the *Pelhams* now considered themselves strong enough to combat any faction, however favoured and supported it might be in the closet.

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Ministry re-
figd.

The measure of a *general resignation* was immediately adopted. Accordingly, on the next day, Feb. 10, 1746, the Duke of *Newcastle* and Lord *Harrington* resigned. The King immediately gave the Duke's seals to Lord *Granville*. But the following day Mr. *Pelham*, Lord *Hardwicke*, Lord *Pembroke*, Mr. *Legge*, Mr. *George Grenville*, and several others,

others, all went to court, and resigned their employments. Neither the King nor Lord *Bath* was prepared for this stroke. They had not the least expectation of it. And they were informed that several noblemen and gentlemen who held commissions in the army were preparing to resign in a few days. The King, Lord *Bath*, and Lord *Granville*, were alarmed beyond expression at these resignations. It was upon this occasion only that the King discovered his own insignificancy. He found that the assurances of men without alliances, were no support to a sovereign; and that if a King would be maintained in his royalty, he must take those into his service who have the greatest influence amongst his subjects. It is a maxim, that a King without his people is either more than he ought to be, or less than he should be. Lord *Granville* saw the storm gathering round the political hemisphere; and having no other support than his great friend Lord *Bath*, who had lost all esteem with the nation by his treacherous conduct in 1742, he resolved to desert his own chimerical enterprise, and resign also.

If

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If it was cruel or unhandsome in the Whigs to leave the King, when he had given his confidence to their enemies; it was infinitely more cruel and inhuman in those new favourites to abandon their sovereign, whom they first deceived with promises which they knew they could not perform, and next betrayed to the mercy of his late servants; whose return to office they now barbarously obliged him to solicit, without making one effort to accomplish that pretended *emancipation* with which they affected to colour the motives of their presumption.

But the Whigs took no advantage of the distresses of the King. When his Majesty sent for them to resume their offices, they only stipulated for leave to fulfil their engagements. They asked no peerages, they secured no reversions, they demanded no pensions; and above all, however odious the royal attachment to Hanover was become, they offered no illiberal resentment to the royal mind upon that account, by which they might have obtained an unlimited popularity. They did not leave the King until he had withdrawn himself

himself from them; nor did they withhold their support the moment he was disposed to receive it. They all returned to office on the fourteenth of February 1746; so that Lord *Granville's* administration lasted three whole days. In the new arrangement Mr. *Pitt* was made a Vice-treasurer of Ireland. The rest of the changes the reader will find at the end of the work. And upon the death of Mr. *Winnington*, which happened in May following, Mr. *Pitt* was appointed Paymaster in his room. In his office of Paymaster, he was early distinguished by his disinterested integrity and incorruptible virtue. There are two facts related of his conduct, while in this office, which reflect the highest honour upon his character. They have already been published, in these words:

“ When he was appointed to the office of Paymaster of the Forces, he found it had been customary to have 100,000*l.* by advance, generally lie in the hands of the Paymaster, which, in the time of some of those that presided before him in that office, used to be subscribed in government securities, which brought 3 or 4000*l.* *per annum*, more or less, into

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Ministry re-
appointed.Mr. Pitt
made Vice-
treasurer of
Ireland.Appointed
Paymaster.Makes no
private use
of the pub-
lic money.

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into their private purses.—And in our memory there happened a conjuncture when this money so subscribed into the land-tax was called for, upon an extraordinary emergency, for the use of the army; but being locked up in the exchequer, and all public funds bearing a large discount, it could not be sold but at such a great loss as would have been of the utmost damage to the subscriber. What was the consequence?—the payment of the army, in the time of the war and rebellion, was stopped, when there was the greatest occasion for public credit, and punctuality in the payment of those troops on whom our *whole* depended.

“ But when Mr. *Pitt* went into that department, he placed whatever sums of money belonged to the office in the Bank, where they might be ready for the public service, without ever appropriating any part of it to his private use, as had been the custom of former times; he never subscribed one shilling into the funds, nor ever availed himself of any interest arising from public monies at his disposal, but was satisfied with, and touched no more than, the *legal appointment*.

“ The

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Refuses the
perquisite on
the Sardinian
subsidy.

“ The next fact is—that when the Parliament granted subsidies to the King of Sardinia and Queen of Hungary, payable at his office, half *per cent.* or more, used to be taken on the whole subsidy, in the most reputable times, and by those of the most approved characters, as a *perquisite of office*.—This Mr. *Pitt* refused, which would have come to a large sum, as the grants at that time to both these powers were very considerable.—When the King of Sardinia was told this, he could not help expressing his surprise at such an instance of greatness of mind and disinterestedness, and therefore ordered his agent to offer the same sum as a royal present to Mr. *Pitt*, who had before refused it as a perquisite. His answer to this was, that as the Parliament had granted those sums for such uses, he had no right to any part of the money; that he did no more than his duty in paying it *entire*; and hoped the refusal of the King’s present upon that occasion would not give offence.—When his Sardinian Majesty heard this, he said, Surely this Englishman was somewhat more than a man.”

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LORD GRANVILLE AND MR. PELHAM RECONCILED.—THE PRINCE'S CLAIMS IN THE CORNISH BOROUGHES.—NEW OPPOSITION FORMED.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH ON THE MUTINY BILL CONCERNING THE HALF-PAY OFFICERS.—ON THE GLASGOW PETITION.—ON THE MUTINY BILL, CONCERNING THE WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—ON DUNKIRK.—ON THE TREATIES WITH BAVARIA AND SPAIN.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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1747.

Lord Gran-
ville and
Mr. Pelham
reconciled.

THE same unanimity which distinguished the two last sessions of Parliament continued until the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748. Even Lord *Granville* became reconciled to the minister. This extraordinary reconciliation was effected by *Robert Nugent* Esq. afterwards Earl *Nugent*, as he himself related it in the House of Commons, in the year 1784. “He appointed them,” he said, “to meet at his house, and their meeting was to be kept a profound secret. One repaired to his house quite muffled up, so that it was impossible for any one who saw him to know him. He just introduced them to one another, and left them to themselves. He took care, in the mean time, to have a good supper ready

ready for them, of which they partook; they drank heartily after it; the wine put an end to the reserve on which they had acted; they spoke freely; confidence was established between them; they became sincere friends, and remained so, and cared not the next day who knew the story of this interview."

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When the rebellion was effectually crushed, the ministry resolved to dissolve the Parliament. The Prince of *Wales* having been informed of this resolution, he held a stannary court, in his capacity of Duke of *Cornwall*. In this court some claims attached to that honour were revived, which, had they been admitted, would have given the Prince a considerable influence in some of the Cornish boroughs. Lord *Bolingbroke* was supposed to have been the Prince's adviser in this affair. When the King heard it, he sent the Duke of *Newcastle* to the Prince with a message, declaring the claims set up by the court of stannary to be wholly inadmissible.

Prince's
claims in
the Cornish
boroughs.

The new Parliament met in November 1747; but although it was obvious the Prince's friends

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New oppo-
sition form-
ed.

friends were joined by the Tories, there was no opposition made to the measures of government, and the session passed over with the same unanimity as before. But during the prorogation a strong opposition was formed, and it was resolved to act with vigour. The Prince put himself publicly at the head of it. Mr. *Pitt*, Mr. *Fox* (afterwards Lord *Holland*), Mr. *Murray* (afterwards Lord *Mansfield*), and several other gentlemen of distinguished abilities, adhered to Mr. *Peelham*.

1748.

On the 29th of November 1748, commenced the second session of the new Parliament. But although the treaty of Aix la Chapelle had been concluded and published in the preceding month of October, no copy of it was laid before Parliament. The King mentioned the treaty in his speech, and the terms of it were severely reprobated in the debate upon the address. But Mr. *Pitt* did not speak on the subject.

When the Mutiny bill was brought in, there appeared to be some fresh clauses added, particularly one, subjecting officers upon half-pay

pay to the penalties of the bill. This was warmly opposed, as being dangerous to the constitution.

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Mr. *Pitt* defended the clause. ‘What danger,’ he asked, ‘could arise from obliging a half-pay officer to continue upon the military establishment? It is admitted on all hands, that while he is in full pay he must employ his time, his study, and even his sword, as his superiors shall direct. There may possibly be danger in this, but it never can happen until the direction becomes wicked, nor prevented but by the virtue of the army. It is to that virtue we even at this time trust, small as our army is; it is to that virtue we must have trusted, had this bill been modelled as its warmest opposers could have wished; and without this virtue should the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England, entrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution.’

Mr. Pitt's
speech on
the Mutiny
bill.

A petition from the city of Glasgow, praying to be reimbursed the sum of ten thousand

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pounds, extorted from that city by the Pretender during the late rebellion, occasioned a debate in a committee of supply, on the 12th of April 1749; when it was moved to grant the said sum. The motion was opposed by Mr. *Bowes*; other towns, he said, deserved the same favour; and if this sum was granted to Glasgow, other places having the same claim, would expect the like.

Mr. Pitt's
speech on
the Glas-
gow peti-
tion,

He was answered by Mr. *Pitt*, who said*,

‘ I shall not enter into a dispute with the ho-
 ‘ nourable gentleman, whether there are not
 ‘ many places, both in England and Scotland,
 ‘ that have an equal pretence to loyalty as the
 ‘ city of Glasgow, and that shewed as much
 ‘ zeal for the support of the government during
 ‘ the late rebellion, as that city; but this I
 ‘ will aver, that there was no city, town, or
 ‘ place in Great Britain, that suffered so much,
 ‘ or that shewed greater zeal in the same cir-
 ‘ cumstances. And without derogating from
 ‘ the merit of any one, I may say, that there
 ‘ are not many cities in the united kingdom
 ‘ that have so often or so remarkably distin-

* This speech was also written by *Gordon*:

‘ guished

' guished themselves in the cause of liberty.
 ' It was this, Sir; it was the whole tenor of
 ' this city's conduct, from the time of the Re-
 ' formation, that drew the resentment of the
 ' rebels upon it, and made them resolve upon
 ' the extravagant demand they at first made
 ' upon that city. If they had insisted upon
 ' their first demand, the city must have been
 ' ruined; because it would have been impos-
 ' sible for the inhabitants to have raised such a
 ' sum. Of this they had the good for-
 ' tune to convince the chiefs of the rebels;
 ' and even the rebels shewed that they had no
 ' inclination to ruin such a flourishing city,
 ' though the inhabitants appeared generally
 ' to be their enemies. Shall a British Parlia-
 ' ment, Sir, shew less regard to their friends
 ' than the rebels shewed to their enemies?
 ' The rebels gave them 10,000l.; that is to
 ' say, they passed from 10,000l. of their first
 ' demand, rather than ruin the city; and this
 ' I may the more justly call giving them
 ' 10,000l. because if the rebels had plundered
 ' the city, they would have found three times
 ' the value of that sum among the inhabitants.
 ' If, then, the rebels gave that city 10,000l.
 ' rather than expose it to ruin, shall a British

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‘ Parliament refuse to give it 10,000l. to pre-
‘ serve it from ruin?

‘ It really shocks me, Sir, to see such a
‘ question stand a debate in a British House
‘ of Commons. If the rebels had succeeded
‘ in their flagitious attempt, and had called a
‘ slavish Parliament, for they would never
‘ have called a free one, I should not have
‘ wondered to see such a question opposed in
‘ a House of Commons assembled by their
‘ authority; but it astonishes me to see such a
‘ question opposed in a House where every
‘ member present professes his friendship for
‘ that city, and acknowledges the gratitude
‘ due to it from the public for its behaviour.
‘ The hon. gentleman told us, he did not in-
‘ tend to depreciate the real merit of the city
‘ of Glasgow: I do not know what he in-
‘ tended, but he endeavoured to shew that
‘ the behaviour of that city was not so merito-
‘ rious as represented, because they attempted
‘ nothing in favour of government till after
‘ the rebels had marched into England, from
‘ whence they had reason to expect that none
‘ of them would ever return. This, Sir, was
‘ certainly an insinuation that the people of
‘ Glas-

‘ Glasgow never did any thing in favour of
 ‘ the government, as long as they thought the
 ‘ government in any danger from the rebel-
 ‘ lion; and if this had really been the case, I
 ‘ should have had no great opinion of their
 ‘ merit. But I will shew that, before the
 ‘ rebel army entered England, it was not in
 ‘ the power of the people of Glasgow to do
 ‘ any thing in favour of the government;
 ‘ and that they had not then the least reason
 ‘ to imagine that government was out of all
 ‘ danger from the rebellion.

‘ When we consider, Sir, that the rebels
 ‘ marched through one half of England, with-
 ‘ out any opposition from the militia; when
 ‘ we consider that even in their retreat,
 ‘ though pursued by the Duke and the regu-
 ‘ lar forces, they met with no obstruction
 ‘ from the militia; we cannot with any justice
 ‘ blame the south or west parts of Scotland
 ‘ for not opposing them with their militia.
 ‘ And as to the city of Glasgow, it had nei-
 ‘ ther time to provide for its defence, nor was
 ‘ it capable of making a resistance, had it had
 ‘ time. The town is an open town, without
 ‘ so much as a wall round it, and the inhabit-

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‘ants had neither arms, ammunition, nor
 ‘ any sort of military discipline among them;
 ‘ so that it was impossible for them to think
 ‘ of opposing an army of Highlanders, who
 ‘ are, by the care of their chiefs, bred up to
 ‘ arms and military discipline from their in-
 ‘ fancy. Besides, they had no time for such
 ‘ an undertaking; for the rebels came down
 ‘ upon them in a very few weeks after first
 ‘ appearing in arms; and, till the battle at
 ‘ Preston, every one had reason to believe
 ‘ that General *Cope*, with the forces under
 ‘ his command, would have given a good ac-
 ‘ count of them.

‘ The case was very different, Sir, both
 ‘ with regard to Newcastle and Carlisle, be-
 ‘ cause both being surrounded with a wall
 ‘ may, in a few days, be so fortified as to be
 ‘ able to resist a flying party. Yet how little
 ‘ resistance did the latter make? For though
 ‘ they had many weeks to prepare for their
 ‘ defence; though they had hopes of being
 ‘ relieved in a few days by the army then as-
 ‘ sembled at Newcastle, under Marshal *Wade*,
 ‘ they gave up their city the very next day
 ‘ after they found the rebels were preparing
 ‘ for

‘ for a general assault; and yet that city, or
 ‘ at least the castle, might have held out much
 ‘ longer against the rebels, who had no bat-
 ‘ tering cannon along with them; for a small
 ‘ party of the rebels held out the castle after-
 ‘ wards for some days against the Duke, and
 ‘ would probably have held out much longer
 ‘ if they had not heard that some battering
 ‘ cannon were upon the road from White-
 ‘ haven to be employed against them.

‘ Now, Sir, as to the opinion the people
 ‘ of Glasgow might have of the safety of the
 ‘ government, or the event of the rebellion,
 ‘ at the time the rebel army marched into
 ‘ England, they could not have such thoughts
 ‘ of either as the hon. gentleman was pleased
 ‘ to represent; for as to the small number of
 ‘ that army, the people in Scotland had from
 ‘ thence reason to fear that the rebels were
 ‘ well assured of being joined by great num-
 ‘ bers in England, or that there was treachery
 ‘ both in his Majesty’s councils and armies;
 ‘ for without some such well-grounded hopes
 ‘ no one could suppose that men of common
 ‘ sense would think of invading England with
 ‘ an army of 5 or 6000 Highlanders. At the
 P 4 ‘ time

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‘ time of the Revolution, it was at first said,
 ‘ that the Prince of Orange was to invade
 ‘ England with an army of 30,000 men, and
 ‘ many of the King’s friends seemed to be
 ‘ frightened at the news; a noble Lord, who
 ‘ was known to be a firm friend, seemed to
 ‘ make light of the news, and said he apprehended no danger from such an army; but
 ‘ when it was afterwards reported that the
 ‘ Prince was to bring 20,000, he began to be
 ‘ afraid; and when he heard that the Prince
 ‘ was to come with 14,000 only, then cries
 ‘ he, “ We are undone!” When they asked
 ‘ him the reason why he was so much afraid
 ‘ of 14,000, when he seemed no way afraid
 ‘ of 30,000, he answered, “ An army of
 ‘ 30,000 could not conquer England; but no
 ‘ man would come here with an army of
 ‘ 14,000, if he was not sure of finding a great
 ‘ many traitors amongst ourselves.”

‘ This, Sir, soon appeared to be a just way
 ‘ of thinking; and though the event shewed
 ‘ that, if the rebels had any such hopes, those
 ‘ hopes were very ill-grounded; yet this the
 ‘ people of Glasgow could not foresee; therefore, from the small number of the rebel
 ‘ army,

‘ army, they had, according to the same
 ‘ way of thinking, rather cause to dread the
 ‘ event, than to suppose that none of that
 ‘ army would ever return: Nor could they
 ‘ suppose this from the spirit that appeared in
 ‘ England in favour of the government; for
 ‘ though I am very well convinced that this
 ‘ spirit was sincere and true, yet I am afraid
 ‘ if the rebel-leader could have persuaded his
 ‘ people to have ventured a battle against the
 ‘ Duke in Staffordshire, or to have given him
 ‘ the slip, marched towards London, and
 ‘ fought a battle near this city, the fate of
 ‘ England would have depended upon the
 ‘ issue of that battle; for if they had obtained
 ‘ a victory, and made themselves masters of
 ‘ London, I question much if the spirit of the
 ‘ populace would not soon have taken a very
 ‘ different turn.

‘ I must therefore conclude, Sir, that when
 ‘ the rebel army marched to England, the
 ‘ people of Glasgow could form no judgment
 ‘ with any certainty about the event of the
 ‘ rebellion; and consequently, that what they
 ‘ did afterwards could proceed from nothing
 ‘ but their steady attachment to this govern-
 ‘ ment;

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ment; and I must add, that their zeal was much the more meritorious, as it was manifested after they had severely smarted for it, in having such a large sum of money extorted from them by the rebels, merely on account of the zeal they had formerly shewn for supporting the liberties of their country. A burnt child, they say, dreads the fire; and if the people of Glasgow, after having smarted so sensibly for their loyalty, had resolved to lie quiet, and wait the event of things, their conduct would have been excusable. By holding such a conduct they would have been considerable gainers, even though we should grant the money now moved for. But they honestly and bravely resolved not to be idle spectators of the confusions of their country. They resolved to be active in putting a happy end to them as soon as possible; and with this view, as soon as they had an opportunity, they put themselves to very great expence.

To say, Sir, that this expence was attended with no success or effect, is what no man can say with any certainty; for the regiment they raised and sent to Stirling, with

‘ two more, so effectually guarded that pass,
 ‘ that no reinforcement ever did march that
 ‘ way to the rebels; and the regiment they
 ‘ kept at home very probably prevented any
 ‘ reinforcement being sent by the way of
 ‘ Glasgow. And though our army was un-
 ‘ fortunate at the affair of Falkirk, yet if the
 ‘ Glasgow regiment had not been there, it
 ‘ might have been much more unfortunate,
 ‘ and the victory of the rebels more complete;
 ‘ for though that regiment was engaged in the
 ‘ action, it is evident that it was not defeated
 ‘ and dispersed, because, if it had, the men
 ‘ would have run home, whereas it retreated
 ‘ in good order to Edinburgh, without the
 ‘ loss of a man, except those that were killed,
 ‘ wounded, or taken prisoners at the battle.

‘ As to the behaviour of the northern coun-
 ‘ ties, and that of Newcastle in particular,
 ‘ comparisons are odious, Sir; and I should
 ‘ have avoided making any, if I had not been
 ‘ forced to it by the hon. gentleman who
 ‘ spoke last. I shall readily acknowledge, and
 ‘ gratefully own, the dutiful zeal of all these
 ‘ places for the support of his Majesty’s go-
 ‘ vernment; and I must likewise confess that
 ‘ those

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' those who do not desire from the public any
 ' reimbursement of the expence they were at
 ' upon that occasion, have more merit than
 ' those that do; but at the same time must ob-
 ' serve, that before the rebels left Edin-
 ' burgh, all those places were secured against
 ' any visit from them, not only by the strong
 ' town of Berwick, but by an army equal to
 ' that of the rebels, encamped near Newcastle,
 ' and commanded by one of the best generals
 ' in the service; whereas the inhabitants of
 ' Glasgow shewed their zeal for his Majesty,
 ' even when the rebels were masters of their
 ' country. And as to the expence, it must
 ' be acknowledged that, over and above the
 ' relief now prayed for, that city was, either
 ' voluntarily or by compulsion, at a much
 ' greater expence in proportion than any of
 ' the places mentioned; for, from what was
 ' said by the gentleman at your bar, it appears
 ' that, over and above the two fines extorted
 ' from them by the rebels, their expence
 ' amounted to above 8000l.; which is greater
 ' than what the town of Newcastle is said to
 ' have been put to; and is, I am sure, more
 ' in proportion for the single city of Glasgow
 ' alone than 30,000l. is for the whole county
 ' of

‘ of York. Besides, Sir, none of those places
 ‘ suffered any interruption in their trade or
 ‘ manufactures, whereas the trade and manu-
 ‘ factures of Glasgow were at full stop, almost
 ‘ during the whole time of the rebellion. To
 ‘ which I must add, that the expence of the
 ‘ former was voluntary, whereas a great part
 ‘ of the latter’s expence was by compulsion,
 ‘ which makes a very great difference; for
 ‘ people may generously contribute more to
 ‘ the assistance of government, as all those
 ‘ places did, but they will never voluntarily
 ‘ contribute more than they can spare; whereas
 ‘ a people may be forced to contribute what
 ‘ would infallibly prove their ruin, should
 ‘ they meet with no retribution; which is the
 ‘ case now before us.

‘ Then, Sir, as to the city of Carlisle, the
 ‘ rebels might perhaps raise the taxes there, as
 ‘ they did in many other places; but I can-
 ‘ not think they imposed any fine upon that
 ‘ city: I am rather inclined to think they fa-
 ‘ voured it, because the people absolutely re-
 ‘ fused to support his Majesty’s commanding
 ‘ officer there in making a stout resistance,
 ‘ which was the cause of the city and castle’s
 ‘ being

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‘ being surrendered. I therefore think we
 ‘ have no need to be afraid of an application
 ‘ for relief from any of those places; at least,
 ‘ I am sure that if any such application should
 ‘ be made, it cannot be so well supported as
 ‘ the application now under our consideration;
 ‘ and consequently our complying with this
 ‘ can be no precedent for our complying with
 ‘ any future.

‘ But that of introducing a bad precedent,
 ‘ is not, it seems, Sir, the only danger we
 ‘ are to expose ourselves to by agreeing to this
 ‘ motion: We are besides threatened with the
 ‘ danger of exciting a rebellion in England.
 ‘ This, Sir, is so imaginary a danger, that I
 ‘ cannot think there is any one gentleman in
 ‘ this House that is really afraid of it. If there
 ‘ should be no future application of this kind,
 ‘ we can be in no such danger; because no
 ‘ man can be disobliged at the Parliament’s
 ‘ not granting him relief if he does not apply
 ‘ for it; and I have good reason to hope
 ‘ that there will be no such future application.
 ‘ I hope all gentlemen and bodies politic in
 ‘ Great Britain will follow the example of the
 ‘ city of Glasgow, and desire no relief for what
 ‘ they

‘ they voluntarily contributed towards the
‘ support of his Majesty’s government, nor
‘ for what they suffered in being obliged to
‘ give free quarters to the rebels; and if we
‘ have no application upon either of these
‘ heads, I believe we can have no application
‘ made to us upon any other. But suppose
‘ we should have some applications, we shall
‘ then have an opportunity to consider their
‘ merits; and if the circumstances of the peti-
‘ tioners should appear to be the same with
‘ those of the petitioners now before us, I do
‘ not question their meeting with the same
‘ success. If their circumstances should ap-
‘ pear to be different, and not near so merito-
‘ rious, we may refuse their petition with
‘ safety; because, however partial they may be
‘ in their own favour, the rest of the nation
‘ will judge impartially, and approve our re-
‘ fusal; and if the rest of the nation approve
‘ it, we can be in no danger of its exciting a
‘ rebellion in this part of the kingdom.

‘ Another danger we are threatened with
‘ upon this occasion is, that if we agree to
‘ this motion it will encourage people not to
‘ be active in defending themselves against
‘ any

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any future invasion or insurrection, or perhaps, under the pretence of force, to contribute to its support. This I shall grant, Sir, might be the consequence of laying it down as a general principle, that all who suffer by an invasion or insurrection shall have their loss made good by the public; and therefore it would be wrong to lay down such a general principle. But if the laying down a principle would surely be wrong, it would be much more so to lay the contrary down as an unalterable maxim of state. It would be unjust, as well as imprudent, to lay it down as a principle, that those who honestly and bravely risk their lives and fortunes in opposition to an invasion or insurrection, and have suffered severely on account of that opposition, should meet with no relief from the public, especially when their preservation or ruin depends upon that relief, which appears to be the case now before us. And if we consider this, we must allow that if we think of the justice due to the public creditors, or of relieving our poor labourers and manufacturers, we must agree to this motion, because the public revenue will suffer a great deal more by the ruin of such

‘ such a trading town as Glasgow, than it
 ‘ can suffer by granting the relief desired by
 ‘ the petitioners for preventing that ruin.

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 VI.:1.
 1748.

‘ This relief, Sir, they cannot have from
 ‘ the produce of the forfeited estates in Scot-
 ‘ land. It would be like prescribing a remedy
 ‘ to a sick man, which could not be got ready
 ‘ till after his distemper had put an end to his
 ‘ life. It will be several years before any
 ‘ thing can be made of those estates; and in
 ‘ the mean time the city of Glasgow must be
 ‘ ruined with law charges, by their creditors
 ‘ suing for their money, which they will cer-
 ‘ tainly do if their interest be not regularly
 ‘ paid. This it is impossible for the corpora-
 ‘ tion to do out of their present income, and
 ‘ at the same time support their necessary an-
 ‘ nual expence; therefore their ruin must be
 ‘ inevitable, or the relief now moved for
 ‘ must be granted.’

The motion was agreed to.

The session ended the 13th of June 1749. 1749.

C H A P.
VIII.

} 1749.

Nothing material happened during the summer.

On the 16th of November 1749, Parliament met again; when it appeared that the party in opposition had increased considerably in number; and being under the patronage of the Prince of *Wales*, who was highly popular at this time, they were, from that circumstance, favourably judged of by the public. The address, and many other points, were warmly debated; but Mr. *Pitt* did not speak upon any of them.

1750.

When the Mutiny bill was brought in (January 1750), Col. *George Townshend*, afterwards Marquis *Townshend*, proposed a clause by way of rider, for preventing any non-commissioned officer's being broke or reduced to the ranks, or any soldier's being punished but by the sentence of a court-martial. He informed the House that his clause was founded upon indubitable facts. He said he had witnesses at the door to prove that a sergeant and corporal were reduced to the ranks because some of their party
in

in the rear, as they were going upon duty to the play-house, happened to say in the street, *Van-deput for ever!* For this heinous offence, which they could not prevent, the two non-commissioned officers were, without trial, reduced to the ranks. There was a long debate.

CHAP.
VIII.

1750.

Mr. Pitt, who was still Paymaster, spoke against the clause:—

‘ I never will agree,’ he said, ‘ to call officers and soldiers to the bar of this House to traduce and impeach each other. If they once learn the way to come here with their complaints, they will next come with their petitions. Our business is to consider of the number of forces necessary for the defence of this kingdom and our possessions, and to grant the money for the maintaining that number. We have no business with the conduct of the army, or the officers or soldiers complaints; those are subjects which belong to the King, or to such as shall be commissioned by him to hear them. If we give ear to them, we shall not only destroy the discipline of the army, but make Parliament detestable; for it will be impossible to

Mr. Pitt's speech on the Mutiny bill, concerning the Westminster election.

M. S.

CHAP.
VIII.

1750.

‘ give satisfaction to both parties; besides
 ‘ causing great trouble and neglect of duty,
 ‘ in coming from distant parts of the king-
 ‘ dom. Therefore I hope, Sir, the House
 ‘ will not permit any inquiry to be made into
 ‘ the complaint that has been offered. There
 ‘ is not the least pretence for saying that it re-
 ‘ lates to the freedom of election; nor to the
 ‘ particular election for Westminster now
 ‘ going on. It relates singly to the duty of
 ‘ two non-commissioned officers, sent out
 ‘ with a party upon duty, and it was the ser-
 ‘ geant’s duty to have made report of this cir-
 ‘ cumstance if it happened, and he knew of
 ‘ it, to his commanding officer. Why he did
 ‘ not is not for us to inquire; nor is it a ques-
 ‘ tion for this House to determine whether
 ‘ the commanding officer has punished his
 ‘ sergeant and corporal with unmerited seve-
 ‘ rity. It belongs to a court-martial, or board
 ‘ of officers.’

The clause was withdrawn.

On the 5th of February 1750, Lord *Egmont* moved for copies of all letters and papers relative to the demolition of Dunkirk, according

according to the late treaty of Aix la Chapelle*.

CHAP.
VIII.

1750.

Mr. *Pitt* opposed this motion. He said,
 ‘ it was not only impolitic but dangerous; as
 ‘ tending to involve the nation in another
 ‘ war with France, when it was notorious we
 ‘ were in no situation adequate to bear the
 ‘ expence. It was a very good answer to the
 ‘ motion to say it was premature; for since
 ‘ the conclusion of the treaty there had not
 ‘ yet been opportunity to execute all the arti-
 ‘ cles of it; that the cost of the work being to
 ‘ be defrayed and performed by the French,
 ‘ they may say, “ our finances are reduced,
 ‘ we cannot afford the money at present, but
 ‘ shall in a little time.” At all events the mo-
 ‘ tion,’ he said, ‘ was highly improper at that
 ‘ moment. It was an affront to the French
 ‘ court, and as we were not in a condition to
 ‘ support it by any strong measures, it was
 ‘ exhibiting our petulance and impotence.—

Mr. Pitt's
speech on
Dunkirk.
M. S.

* Lord *Melcombe* says (in his Diary), that this motion originated with the Prince; and when the inutility of it was represented to his Royal Highness, he said, “ That making the motion would make the ministry feel they had *la corde au col*.”

CHAP.
VIII.

1759.

‘ At a future period, with a recruited finance
 ‘ and repaired marine, the motion may be
 ‘ proper, if the terms of the treaty have not
 ‘ been complied with. But if the motion is
 ‘ carried, and it should come out that Dun-
 ‘ kirk is now in the state that it was in by the
 ‘ treaty of Utrecht, explained in the year
 ‘ 1717, which he believed to be the fact,
 ‘ would any gentleman say this was a crime
 ‘ in the present ministry, or a sufficient
 ‘ reason for a quarrel with France?’

The motion was negatived by 242 to 115.

1751.

On the 17th of January 1751, the Parlia-
 ment met. The King, in his speech, in-
 formed them that he had concluded a treaty
 with Spain, and another with the Elector of
 Bavaria. The address was moved in the usual
 style, *approving* of these treaties, although
 they had not then been laid before the House;
 which occasioned a long debate.

Lord *Egmont* moved to leave out all the
 words of *approbation* in the address. He was
 answered by

Mr. *Pitt*, who said, ‘ The treaty with Bavaria was founded in the best political wisdom; it was a wise measure, as tending most effectually to preserve the balance of power in Germany, and of course to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. The Elector of Bavaria was taken off from the French interest by it, which, as it contributed to weaken the House of Bourbon, it contributed to the continuation of peace.— The treaty with Spain was a wise and advantageous measure. The court of Spain had agreed to many concessions; they had agreed to pay a large sum to the South Sea Company; to the re-establishment of the British trade in Spain, that British subjects were to pay no other duties on merchandise than what the King of Spain’s own subjects were to pay.’—Lord *Egmont* had observed that the claim of *no search* had not been revived in the treaty; and not being even mentioned, this essential point had been totally abandoned. To this part of Lord *Egmont*’s speech Mr. *Pitt* answered, ‘ That he had once been an advocate for that claim: It was when he was a young man; but now he was ten years older; had consi-

CHAP.
VIII.

1751.

Mr. Pitt’s
speech on
the treaties
with Bava-
ria and
Spain.

M. S.

CHAP. VI. 'dered public affairs more coolly, and was
 convinced that the claim of *no search* re-
 specting British vessels near the coast of Spa-
 nish America could never be obtained, un-
 less Spain was so reduced as to consent to
 any terms her conqueror might think proper
 to impose.'

Lord *Egmont's* motion was negatived, by
 203 against 74.

Death of the
 Prince of
 Wales.

On the 20th of March the Prince of *Wales*
 died.

It is not the design of this work to state
 the particulars of that event, which have been
 already related in other books, unless such re-
 lation is very erroneous. This event is no
 otherwise necessary to mention here than as it
 annihilated the plan of a regular and system-
 atic opposition that was forming, and when
 completed was intended to act under his
 Royal Highness's protection and controul.
 Lord *Melcombe's* printed account admits this
 fact in part. But there are letters from per-
 sons of the first consideration which may, per-
 haps, on some future day be printed, which
 state

state this, and other traits of the Prince's character, stronger, and with more truth than Lord *Melcombe* has done.

C H A P.
VIII.
1751.

The printed accounts of the Prince's character are not very exact. Perhaps they were written very soon after his death, when an impartial writer might be influenced by caution; for all sorts of ministers are eager to prosecute the liberty of the press, when they can do it under the pretence of defending royalty. Nor is it less true, that when they are dismissed from office, no subjects are more eager to exercise this privilege. These accounts state the Prince to have been a man of most excellent talents, and possessing a thorough knowledge of the British constitution, &c. &c. No assertions can be more distant from truth. The best of his qualifications might be negatively described. His heart was not bad; nor was he an enemy to the kingdom; he amassed no private treasures, nor adopted any sinister advice with a view to obtain them; he was not insane, nor under the private tuition of the Princess.

CHAP. IX.

THE REGENCY APPOINTED.—THE BEDFORDS TURNED OUT.—MR. PITT'S TREATMENT OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.—MR. PITT'S BILL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE CHELSEA PENSIONERS.

CHAP.
IX.
1751.

THE death of the Prince of *Wales* filled the opposition with the greatest consternation and confusion. Several of them thought of making terms with the minister—others of seceding—and some were for remaining with the Princess, and taking the chance of events.

The regency
appointed.

The first measure of government was the settlement of a regency, which was done upon fair and liberal terms. The Princess Dowager was made Regent, and guardian of the minor, as well as of her other children. Being a female, there was a council of regency appointed, consisting of the great officers of state, and the Duke of *Cumberland* was placed at the head of it. This compliment to the Duke occasioned some invidious speeches in

in Parliament, from gentlemen who were not acquainted with the Duke's real character.— Time has shewn that the analogies they offered in the way of prophesy had not the least foundation in truth. The Duke had, in the judgment of these gentlemen, treated the Scots rebels with too much severity. But this was a justifiable severity. And those who had latent designs forgave not the disappointment.

The debate was upon the clause respecting the council. Mr. *Pitt* defended the bill; but by something he said concerning the council, Mr. *Fox* thought he hinted at the Duke of *Cumberland*, and began defending the Duke; but Mr. *Pitt* explained in such terms that Mr. *Fox* went away without dividing. The debate being in a committee, the Speaker (*Onslow*) made a very able speech against the clause, which he deprecated as fraught with great and probable evils; he dreaded no improper ambition in the Duke; nothing, he was confident, was farther from his Royal Highness's heart; but his apprehension was, that the Duke and Princess would not *coalesce* in measures; and he insinuated, in delicate terms,

CHAP.
IX.

1751.

terms, his anxiety upon the misunderstanding which subsisted between the Princess Dowager and the Princess *Amelia*; and the warm affection between the latter Princess and her brother. This speech gave Mr. *Pelham* a great deal of uneasiness, and he often mentioned it.

The Regent was not impeded in her just authority by any harsh conditions; nor were there any limitations of her power introduced that implied the least suspicion of her integrity or rectitude. The King himself treated her with every mark of respect, attention, and affection. He frequently visited her; 12,500*l.* were immediately paid her; and notwithstanding the war which quickly followed demanded greater supplies than the war of any former period, yet her money was constantly paid. And when the Prince of *Wales* (*George III.*) arrived at the age of eighteen, the King ordered him a separate allowance (over and above what was given to the Princess) of 40,000*l. per annum* from his civil list.

The party which had arranged themselves under the late Prince of *Wales*, being now with-

1751.

without head or cement, the *Pelbams* saw they had an opportunity of increasing the number of their supporters, by embracing the fugitives, and turning out the Duke of *Bedford* and his friends, who had never acted cordially with them, not even during the war. In June 1751, the Duke of *Bedford* was dismissed from the office of secretary of state, and Lord *Sandwich* from the post of first lord of the admiralty, Lord *Trenton* (since created Marquis of *Stafford*), from the same board, and some others of his Grace's friends from other offices. These noblemen and gentlemen being joined by those of the late Prince's party, who had not united with the *Pelbams*, they formed a fresh opposition; and though they were not considerable in number, they were supposed to be privately countenanced by the Duke of *Cumberland*, and to have a secret communication with Mr. *Fox*. Lord *Holderneffe* succeeded the Duke of *Bedford*, and Lord *Anson* was placed at the admiralty.

The Bed-
fords turned
out.

The session closed in June, and nothing material happened during the summer.

Par-

C. H. A. P. IX.

1751.

Parliament met again on the 14th of November 1751, but there were no debates; and the session closed on the 25th of March 1752. Five days after the Parliament rose the King went to Hanover. During his Majesty's absence, there was a great deal of intriguing and negotiating amongst all parties. But in every one of these negotiations Mr. *Pitt* and the *Grenvilles* were totally omitted; however, the increasing weight and consequence of Mr. *Pitt* in the House of Commons, excited the jealousy of the principal persons in office, as well as of those in opposition. He was not ignorant of the clandestine projects of both parties; but he despised them. In one conference he had with the Duke of *Newcastle*, he treated that nobleman in such a manner, that if he had not dreaded him he would have dismissed him; for he still held the post of Paymaster. The subject of the conference was the measures which the King was taking in Germany, to secure the election of a King of the Romans. In this conference Mr. *Pitt* told his Grace that he engaged for subsidies without knowing the extent of the sums, and for alliances without knowing the terms. The Duke complained of Mr. *Pitt*'s hauteur to his

con-

confidential friend Mr. *Stone*, who advised his Grace to overlook it, saying it would be most prudent.

CHAP.
IX.

1752.

In the succeeding session, which began on the 11th of January 1753, and ended the 7th of June in the same year, Mr. *Pitt* took no part in any of the debates.

1753.

And he was also totally silent in the next session, which commenced on the 15th of November 1753, and closed on the 6th of April 1754.

1754.

In 1754 Parliament was dissolved.

The new Parliament met on the 14th of November. Mr. *Pitt* was still in his office of Paymaster. The next day (the 15th), as soon as the address was reported, Mr. *Pitt* moved for leave to bring in a bill which will be an everlasting monument to his humanity. He prefaced this motion with a melancholy description of the hardships to which the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital were exposed by the present improper mode of paying their pensions. The poor disabled veterans, he said,

Mr. Pitt's
bill for the
relief of the
Chelsea pen-
sioners.

CHAP.
IX.

1754.

said, who were entitled to this excellent charity, were cruelly oppressed by a number of wretches who supplied them with money in advance. By the present method, the poor man can receive no money until he has been twelve months upon the list. This was extremely unjust, because the poor veteran's merit and claim to the charity commenced from the moment of his disability in the service. But by this delay of the first payment, he was under the necessity of borrowing money upon the certificate of his admission upon the list. He was supplied with a pittance by one of the people called usurers, who compelled the poor wretch to allow him a most exorbitant interest. The practice continuing a few years, the pensioner had nothing to subsist on; the whole of his pension being swallowed up in usury. To remedy this grievance, he proposed, by his bill, that when the pensioner was admitted upon the list, half a year's pension should be advanced and paid him; with some other regulations on the same humane principle, and the bill to commence on the 25th of December 1754.—The bill was immediately brought in, and
unani-

unanimously passed both Houses, with uncommon expedition.

CHAP.
IX.

1754.

Mr. *Pitt* took no part in the debates during the session, which ended on the 25th of April 1755; and three days after the King set out for Hanover.

1755.

CHAP. X.

DEATH OF MR. PELHAM.—MR. FOX WISHES TO SUCCEED MR. PELHAM, AND TO BE MINISTER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—EXPLANATION OF MINISTER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MR. PITT EXPECTS TO BE MADE SECRETARY OF STATE.—SIR THOMAS ROBINSON APPOINTED.—GENERAL DISSATISFACTION.—PARTY AT LEICESTER-HOUSE.—STATE OF THE NATION.

CHAP.
X.

1754.
Mr. Pelham
dies.

IN March 1754, Mr. *Pelham* died. This event proved as fatal to the ministry as the death of the Prince of *Wales* had been to the opposition.

Mr. Fox
wishes to
succeed Mr.
Pelham, and
to be minis-
ter of the
House of
Commons.

Mr. *Fox*, who was secretary at war, wished to succeed to Mr. *Pelham's* situation, and the opposition offered to act under him if he was appointed; but the Duke of *Newcastle* said, "He had been *second* minister long enough; that he would not have acted in that capacity under any body but his brother, and now his brother was gone he would be at the head of the treasury himself." Mr. *Fox* then solicited the Duke to succeed his Grace in the office of secretary of state; and it is very probable that this request would have been

been granted, had he not insisted upon having the management of the House of Commons, which the Duke peremptorily refused; and upon that point the negotiation broke off.

The management of the House of Commons, as it is called, is a confidential department, unknown to the constitution. In the public accounts it is immersed under the head of secret service. It is usually given to the secretary of state, when that post is filled by a commoner. The business of the department is to distribute with *art* and *policy*, amongst the members who have no ostensible places, sums of money, for their support during the session; besides contracts, lottery tickets, and other douceurs. It is no uncommon circumstance, at the end of a session, for a gentleman to receive five hundred or a thousand pounds for *his services* *.

Explanation
of minister
of the House
of Commons.

When

* Mr. Fox was so confident his negotiation with the Duke would succeed, that while it was pending, he sent the following letter to his friends:

CHAP.
X.

1794.

When it was known that the Duke of Newcastle intended the Treasury for himself, Mr.

Pitt

"SIR,

"The King has declared his intention to make me secretary of state, and I (very unworthy as I fear I am of such an undertaking) *must take the conduct of the House of Commons*. I cannot, therefore, well accept the office, till after the first day's debate, which may be a warm one. A great attendance that day of my friends will be of the greatest consequence to my future situation, and I should be extremely happy, if you would, for that reason, shew yourself amongst them, to the great honour of, &c. &c.

"H. FOX."

In the *Memoirs of the Marchioness of Pompadour* (vol. i. pages 57, 58, 59, Eng. transl. 1766) we are presented with a very interesting anecdote, written to Cardinal Fleury, by an *English minister* of that time:

"I pension (writes the minister) *half the Parliament*, to keep it *quiet*. But as the King's money is not sufficient, they, to whom I give none, clamour loudly for a war; it would be expedient for your Eminence to remit me three millions of French livres, in order to silence these barkers. *Gold* is a metal which here corrects all ill qualities in the blood. A pension of 2000l. a-year will make the most impetuous warrior in Parliament as *tame as a lamb*."

By the help of this anecdote, we are enabled to comprehend the *mytical* meaning of a minister's *planning* of a Parliament, and of a minister's *conducting* a House of Commons. The former phrase we find used by Mr. Tindal, in the octavo edition of his *History of England*, vol. xxi. page 439—it

runs

CHAP.
X.

1754.

Mr. Pitt
expected to
be secretary
of state.

Pitt expected that the seals of secretary of state would have been offered to him. It is certain that he did not ask for them, but he expected them without asking. This disappointment was in some degree palliated by making Mr. *George Grenville* treasurer of the navy, who at that time lived in the utmost intimacy with Mr. *Pitt*, and was become his relation, by Mr. *Pitt* having lately married his sister. Mr. *Legge* was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir *Thomas Robinson* secretary of state, and some other alterations were made. But notwithstanding this arrangement, there was a general dissatisfaction throughout all parties. Some disliked the measures, others disliked the men; in fine, nobody was pleased; neither those in office, nor those out; and there was new a party forming that seemed to menace more danger to their views than their own differences. This was the party of Leicester-house, which threw a general alarm and consternation over the whole. No one was quite certain of whom

Sir T. Ro-
binson ap-
pointed.General dis-
satisfaction.Party at
Leicester
house.

runs thus: "Mr. P——, before his death, had settled the plan of the new Parliament."—And same vol. page 510, he subjoins—"As to the elections, they went much in the same track that had been laid out by Mr. P——."

CHAP.
X.

1754.

this party consisted. Several individuals in office, and in opposition, were suspected of secretly belonging to it.

State of the
nation,

Another circumstance, not less alarming to the ministry than to the whole nation, was the flame of war which had been kindled in North America, and threatened to burst out in Europe. Great Britain was at this period every day more closely riveted to the continent by fresh engagements, while her own proper affairs were totally neglected. Her fleet was rotting in ordinary; her army, except such corps as were under the eye of the Duke of *Cumberland*, relaxed in discipline.—Her ministers were timid by disunion, and their measures were enervated by ignorance. However unpleasant the fact may be to relate, it is a fact which the best-informed persons will not contradict, that the principal, if not only attention of all descriptions of men, was employed at this time in intriguing and negotiating for places. But in this general assertion, it is not to be understood that all parties were influenced by the same motives. There is no doubt that some persons were actuated by the passion of self-interest; but it is equally true

true that there were many who were governed by a sincere desire to serve the country; that offices were no otherwise their objects than as they gave them power and situation to do good. This distinction it is not only proper, but necessary, to make; because it was a principle laid down in the next reign, and the votaries of the court disseminated it with uncommon art and industry, that all mankind were knaves alike; that the subjects of all Kings ought to look for honesty in the royal bosom; they said it resided no-where else. This political blasphemy came with unpardonable effrontery from the followers of a court, which owed its elevation to the true orthodox principles of the constitution.

CHAP. XI.

CAUSES OF THE DISAGREEMENT AT LEICESTER-HOUSE.—
 LORD HARCOURT AND DR. HAYTER RESIGN THEIR
 POSTS OF GOVERNOR AND PRECEPTOR TO THE PRINCE.
 —DUKE OF BEDFORD'S MOTION UPON THIS SUBJECT IN
 THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—FURTHER EXPLANATION OF
 THE PRINCIPLES INCULCATED AT LEICESTER-HOUSE.

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UPON the death of *Frederick* Prince of
Wales, the education of the Prince
 (*George III.*) had been committed to Lord
Harcourt as governor; to Dr. *Hayter*, Bishop
 of *Norwich*, as preceptor; and to *Andrew*
Sone Esq. brother to the Primate of that name,
 as sub-governor; recommended by the Duke
 of *Newcastle*; and to Mr. *Scott* as sub-pre-
 ceptor, recommended by Lord *Bolingbroke*.—
 In about a year and a half a disagreement
 broke out amongst them of a most important
 nature. It was said by the friends of Leicester-
 house, that the governor and preceptor did
 not discharge the duties of their trust with
 alacrity. But it came out afterwards that this
 complaint lay deeper than was at first sup-
 posed. There were two persons concerned in
 this

this affair whom it is proper to mention particularly. Mr. *Stone* was the most confidential friend and adviser of the Duke of *Newcastle*. The other, Mr. *Murray*, afterwards Lord *Mansfield*, was in precisely the same situation and degree of credit with Mr. *Pelham*. Between Mr. *Stone* and Mr. *Murray* there subsisted the warmest intimacy; not only their friendships, but their principles and politics, were perfectly congenial. Lord *Bute*, who had been lord of the bedchamber to the late Prince, and was continued in the family, gained a superior influence, by assiduity and attention. He was moreover favoured by the Princess. The reserve of Lord *Harcourt*, and the very orderly demeanour of the Bishop, gave great advantage to Lord *Bute*, who excelled in the assumption of theatrical grace and gesture; which, added to a good figure, rendered his conversation particularly pleasing, and at length created a partiality in his favour. The Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pelham* had information of every circumstance at Leicester-house. In a little time the Bishop found some very improper books put into the hands of the Prince. He complained of this matter to the Duke of *Newcastle*, and in a few days Lord

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Cause of
the disagree-
ments at
Leicester-
house.

Har-

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Lord Har-
court and
Dr. Hayter
resign.

Harcourt and the Bishop resigned. From the period of making this *counter* complaint, it became a struggle between the party of *Leicester-house* and the *Pelbams*, which should have the power of educating the Prince.— While this dispute was going on, a third party (the *Bedfords*) interfered for the same purpose; by attacking *Stone* and *Murray*. These gentlemen were charged with being *Jacobites*. Lord *Ravenworth* brought the charge. A committee of the privy council was directed to inquire into it. The committee sat several times upon it: But the two confidants had the address to acquit themselves, although Mr. *Fawcett*, recorder of Newcastle, swore to their having drank the Pretender's health several times.

Duke of
Bedford's
motion.

On the 22d of March 1753, the Duke of *Bedford* made the following motion in the House of Lords: " That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that there be laid before this House the several examinations of the Lord *Ravenworth*, the Dean of *Durham*, Mr. *Fawcett*, the Lord Bishop of *St. Asaph*, the Lord Bishop of *Gloucester*, the
hon.

hon. Mr. *Murray*, his Majesty's solicitor-general, *Andrew Stone* Esq. and such other examinations upon oath as have been taken before the Lords appointed by his Majesty to inquire into informations of a very material nature, relating to a person in the service of their Royal Highnesses the Prince of *Wales* and Prince *Edward*, and the other persons mentioned in the course of the said examinations; likewise all letters and papers relative thereto, and the report made by their Lordships to his Majesty thereupon." But the Duke of *Newcastle*, and the rest of the ministry, were against the motion, and therefore it was negatived. Lord *Harcourt* said in the debate, that he found he had no authority over the Prince's education, nor could he be of any service unless the sub-governor and others (*Scott* and *Cresset**) were dismissed, all of whom, he had strong reasons to believe, were *Jacobites*, and therefore he had resigned. The *Pelbams* thought they had gained their point in the protection of *Stone* and *Murray*, and in appointing Lord *Waldegrave* and the

* *Cresset* was secretary to the Princess; and, upon her recommendation, was appointed treasurer to the Prince.

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Primate to succeed the resigners; while the fact was, they were deceived and betrayed by their own people. By this secret manœuvre, the influence and ascendancy of Lord *Bute* were completely established. At that time was circulated, by the *Bedford party*, a remarkable paper, which the reader will find in the note*. And in the weekly paper called

* *A Memorial of several Noblemen and Gentlemen, of the first rank and fortune.*

The Memorialists represent,

THAT the education of the Prince of *Wales* is of the utmost importance to the whole nation:—That it ought always to be entrusted to Noblemen of the most unblemished honour, and to Prelates of the most distinguished virtue, of the most accomplished learning, and of the most unsuspected principles with regard to government both in the church and state:—That the misfortunes which the nation formerly suffered, or escaped, under King Charles I. King Charles II. and King James II. were owing to the bad education of those Princes, who were early initiated in maxims of arbitrary power:—That for a faction to engross the education of the Prince of *Wales* to themselves, excluding men of probity and learning, is unwarrantable, dangerous, and illegal:—That to place men about the Prince of *Wales* whose principles are suspected, and whose belief in the mysteries of our faith is doubtful, has the most mischievous tendency, and ought justly to alarm the friends of their country, and of the Protestant succession:—That for a minister to support low men, who were originally improper for the high trust to which they were advanced, after complaints made of dark, suspicious, and

unwar-

called *The Proteſter* (printed in ſmall folio, like *The North Briton, Auditor, &c.* and which

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unwarrantable methods made uſe of by ſuch men, in their plan of education, and to protect and countenance ſuch men in their insolent and unheard-of behaviour to their ſuperiors, is a foundation for ſuſpecting the worſt deſigns in ſuch miniſters:—That, it being notorious that books*, inculcating the worſt maxims of government, and defending the moſt avowed tyrannies, have been put into the hands of the Prince of *Wales*, it cannot but affect the memorialiſts with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, when they find that the men who had the honeſty and reſolution to complain of ſuch aſtoniſhing methods of inſtruction are driven away from court†, and the men who have dared to teach ſuch doctrines are continued in truſt and favour:—That the ſecurity of this government being built on Whig principles, is alone ſupported

* *Father Orleans's Revolutions of the Houſe of Stuart—Ramſay's travels of Cyrus—Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarch; and other books inculcating the ſame principles.*

† Alluding to the reſignations of Lord Harcourt and Dr. Hayter, who were ſucceeded by Lord Waldegrave and Dr. Stone.

The following lines were written under Dr. Hayter's portrait, publiſhed at this time :

“ Not gentler virtues glow'd in Cambray's breaſt,
Not more his young Telemachus was bleſt;
Till envy, faction, and ambitious rage,
Drove from a guilty court the pious ſage.
Back to his flock with tranſport he withdrew,
And but one ſigh, an honeſt one, he knew!
O guard my royal pupil, Heaven! he ſaid,
Let not his youth be, like my age, betray'd!
I would have form'd his footſteps in thy way,
But vice prevails, and impious men bear ſway.”

by

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which seems to be the paper alluded to by Lord *Melcombe*, in his Diary, p. 235, 236), num-

by Whig zeal:—That the establishment of the present Royal Family being settled in the timely overthrow of Queen Anne's last ministry, it cannot but alarm all true Whigs to hear of schoolmasters of very contrary principles being thought of for preceptors, and to see none but the friends and pupils of the late Lord *Bolingbroke* entrusted with the education of a Prince whose family that Lord endeavoured by his measures to exclude, and by his writings to expel from the throne of these kingdoms:—That there being great reason to believe that a noble Lord has accused one of the preceptors of Jacobitism, it is astonishing that no notice has been taken of a complaint of so high a nature; on the contrary, the accused person continues in the same trust, without any inquiry into the grounds of the charge, or any step taken by the accused to purge himself of a crime of so black a dye:—That no satisfaction being given to the governor and preceptor, one of whom, though a nobleman of the most unblemished honour, and the other a prelate of the most unbiassed virtue, who have both been treated in the grossest terms of abuse by a menial servant of the family; it is derogatory to his Majesty's authority under which they acted; is an affront to the Peerage; and an outrage to the dignity of the church:—That whoever advised the refusal of an audience to the Bishop of Norwich, who was so justly alarmed at the wrong methods which he saw taken in the education of the Prince of *Wales*, is an enemy to this country, and can only mean at least to govern by a faction, or is himself influenced by a more dangerous faction, which intends to overthrow the government, and restore that of the exiled and arbitrary house of *Stuart*:—That to have a Scotchman [*Murray*] of a most disaffected family, and allied in the nearest manner to the Pretender's first minister, consulted in the education of the Prince of

number XV. September 8, 1753, after saying a good deal about *Stone*, are these words: "And whatever may be the misgivings and repinings of those who expected a kingdom of their own, and who now see themselves for ever excluded, *those* who have the forming of the *youth* have reason to promise themselves the like ascendancy over the *man*."

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This business being settled, the party at Leicester-house went on as they thought proper. *Stone*, *Murray*, and Lord *Bute*, were in perfect union; not indeed ostensibly, but

of *Wales*, and intrusted with the most important secrets of government, must tend to alarm and disgust the friends of the present Royal Family, and to encourage the hopes and attempts of the Jacobites:—Lastly, the memorialists cannot help remarking, that the three or four low, dark, suspected persons, are the only men whose station is fixed and permanent; but that all the great offices and officers are so constantly varied and shuffled about, to the disgrace of this country, that the best affected persons apprehend that there is a settled design in these low and suspected people to infuse such jealousies, caprices, and fickleness into the two ministers, whose confidence they engross, as may render this government ridiculous and contemptible, and facilitate the revolution, which the memorialists think they have but too much reason to fear is meditating.

GOD PRESERVE THE KING.

cop-

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confidentially. And in a very little time (that is, before the war broke out) Lord *Bath* paid his court to Lord *Bute*, and was admitted of his cabinet. From this time may be dated that unhappy and dangerous idea which Lord *Bute* had imbibed, of forming a *double* cabinet. He had it from Lord *Bath*, who told him, the *official* men ought never to be trusted with information of any measure until it was given them to execute. They were the *servants*, he said, of the executive power; not the power itself. This extraordinary doctrine will appear more fully if the letters at *Fontbill* are printed; for Mr. Alderman *Beckford* was one of those who at this time paid their devoirs at Leicester-house.

After *Stone* and *Murray* had been acquitted by the privy council, very little attention was paid to Leicester-house or its concerns by the *Pelbams* or their Whig friends. In a very few years the ideas of a separate interest, and of a separate party, were become perfectly visible at Leicester-house.

C H A P. XII.

SUBSIDIARY TREATIES WITH HANOVER, HESSE, AND RUSSIA.—PAYMENT TO RUSSIA REFUSED.—DUKE OF NEWCASTLE SENDS MR. YORKE TO MR. PITT.—MR. FOX OFFERS TO JOIN MR. PITT.—DEBATE ON THE SUBSIDIARY TREATIES.—MR. PITT TURNED OUT.—HIS BALANCES FOUND IN THE BANK.—THE DUKE'S MINISTRY APPOINTED.—FURTHER DEBATE ON THE TREATIES.—FRANCE MENACES AN INVASION OF GREAT BRITAIN.—HESSIANS AND HANOVERIANS ARRIVE IN ENGLAND.—FRANCE TAKES MINORCA.—MR. PITT AND MR. FOX EXPLAIN THE CAUSES OF THAT CAPTURE.—ANOTHER CAUSE.—CONVENTION WITH PRUSSIA.

ON the 15th of September 1755, the King returned from Hanover, with a subsidiary treaty he had concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse, for twelve thousand men, for the defence of Hanover or Great Britain.—Another treaty with Russia, which he had negotiated abroad for 40,000 men, for the defence of Hanover in case that Electorate should be invaded, was *finished*, and signed at Kensington on the 30th of the same month.

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1755.

Treaties
with Hanover,
Hesse,
and Russia.

In the month of October, a draft from Peterburgh was presented to the British ex-

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Payment to
Russia re-
fused.

chequer for 100,000*l.* in consequence of the Russian treaty. Mr. *Legge* consulted Mr. *Pitt*. They united in refusing payment until the treaty had been approved by Parliament.

While the King was at Hanover, the Duke of *Newcastle* received information of the negotiations carrying on there; and being sensible of the disapprobation with which the treaties with Hesse and Russia would be received in England, he endeavoured by negotiations at home to strengthen his ministerial power. Of all his opponents he reckoned Mr. *Pitt* the most formidable; to him therefore he first applied. He sent the hon. *Charles Yorke* to him, to *sound him*, as he called it. When Mr. *Yorke* had opened his business, and began to make a tender of the Duke's sincere friendship for Mr. *Pitt*, his Grace's unlimited confidence in ———, Mr. *Pitt* stopped him short, and said, "That as to friendship and confidence, there were none between them; if ever there had been any, they were now entirely destroyed: That he (Mr. *Pitt*) laboured under the King's displeasure, which the Duke of *Newcastle* ought to have removed; the Duke perfectly knew, he said, that the Royal
dis-

Mr. *Yorke*
sent to Mr.
Pitt.

displeasure arose from misrepresentation, and until that proscription was taken off he would enter into no conversation whatever, either with his Grace or with any person from him."

Mr. *Fox* having been informed of this difference between the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pitt*, made a proposal to join Mr. *Pitt* against the Duke of *Newcastle*. Mr. *Pitt* rejected the proposal. It is easy to see Mr. *Pitt's* motive for this. Mr. *Fox* was the favourite of the Duke of *Cumberland*; and his Royal Highness had differed with the Duke of *Newcastle* concerning the preparations for war, in which his Highness thought the minister negligent and backward; and he moreover had in contemplation the appointment of a new ministry. If Mr. *Pitt* had accepted Mr. *Fox's* proposal, he must have taken a subordinate situation, which he could never think of, under Mr. *Fox*.

Mr. *Fox*
offers to
join Mr.
Pitt.

The Prince's party at Leicester-house was increasing, and Mr. *Pitt* was generally supposed to belong to them; but it was not true: He was their friend, but not their coadjutor.

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1755.

Parties were in this state when Parliament met, on the 13th of November 1755. The treaties with Russia and Hesse were mentioned in the King's speech; and an insinuation of an engagement to approve of them was introduced in the address of each House.

Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge* condemned them in the strongest terms.

Mr. Pitt's
speech
against the
treaties with
Hesse and
Russia.

M. S.

Mr. *Pitt* said, ' They were advised, framed,
' and executed, not with a view to the de-
' fence of Great Britain in case she should be
' invaded by France; not with a view to pro-
' tect the allies of Great Britain if they should
' be attacked by France, but purely and en-
' tirely for the preservation of Hanover against
' the attempts of France and her confede-
' rates, which I believe to be so entirely the
' only object of the treaties, that I am con-
' vinced they would not have been made had
' not that Electorate belonged to the sovereign
' of this island.

' They must be considered as parts of a
' vast comprehensive system, to gather and
' combine the powers of the European conti-
' nent

‘ nent into a defensive alliance, of magnitude
 ‘ sufficient to withstand the utmost efforts of
 ‘ France and her adherents against the Electo-
 ‘ rate; and all this to be effected at the single
 ‘ expence and charge of Great Britain.

‘ I conceive this whole system and scheme
 ‘ of politics to be absolutely impracticable.

‘ This unsizeable project, impracticable and
 ‘ desperate as it is, with respect to all human
 ‘ probability of success, will, if fully pursued,
 ‘ bring bankruptcy upon Great Britain.

‘ The three last wars with France cost Britain
 ‘ above one hundred and twenty millions of
 ‘ money, according to the best of my inform-
 ‘ ation; which sum amounts to the rate of
 ‘ more than forty millions each war. If I
 ‘ were provided with materials to be more
 ‘ exact, I should not think it worth while to
 ‘ consult them for the sake of accuracy, the im-
 ‘ mensity of the sum being such, by any calcula-
 ‘ tion, that the mistake of a few millions can pro-
 ‘ duce no sensible abatement in the argument;
 ‘ for whether forty or thirty millions be the
 ‘ medium of our former expence in the three

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' wars with France, the present system of po-
 ' litics, if carried roundly into execution, pre-
 ' sents us with an effusion of treasure still
 ' more enormous; because, in the first place,
 ' the maintenance of our just and necessary
 ' war in North America, an object which had
 ' no place in the times of King William and
 ' Queen Anne, and did not run very high in
 ' the late war, will prove a very inflammatory
 ' article in our account; and in the next place
 ' the expence of paying and feeding those mi-
 ' litary multitudes which fought the former
 ' wars, was divided between the English, the
 ' Dutch, and other nations in alliance: All
 ' which expence is, by the system of these
 ' treaties, prepared for Britain alone. And
 ' when we consider that such immense issues
 ' of money, outmeasuring any experiment
 ' of past time, are to be supplied by new
 ' loans, heaped upon a debt of eighty millions,
 ' who will answer for the consequence, or in-
 ' sure us from the fate of the decayed states
 ' of antiquity?

' We are pressed into the service of an
 ' Electorate. We have suffered ourselves to be
 ' deceived by names and sounds, the balance
 ' of

‘ of power, the liberty of Europe, a common
 ‘ cause, and many more such expressions, with-
 ‘ out any other meaning than to exhaust our
 ‘ wealth, consume the profits of our trade,
 ‘ and load our posterity with intolerable bur-
 ‘ dens. None but a nation that had lost all
 ‘ signs of virility would submit to be so
 ‘ treated*.’

The

* Mr. Pitt spoke a second time in this debate. It is not at present known that any notes have been preserved of this second speech; but it is certain that the argument of it was similar to the following protest :

HOUSE OF LORDS, November 13, 1755.

It was moved to leave out these words in the motion for an address :—

“ Or against any other of his dominions, although not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in case they shall be attacked on account of the part taken by his Majesty, for the support of the essential interests of Great Britain.”

After debate,

The question was put, “ Whether those words shall stand part of the question.”

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient,

1st, Because the words of the address objected to, pledging the honour of the nation to his Majesty in defence of his electoral dominions, at this critical conjuncture, and under our present encumbered and perilous circumstances, tend not only

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The address however was agreed to. But
the next day the Duke's negotiations for a new
mi-

to mislead his Majesty into a fallacious and delusive hope that they can be defended at the expence of this country, but seem to be the natural and obvious means of drawing on attacks upon those electoral dominions, thereby kindling a ruinous war upon the continent of Europe, in which it is next to impossible that we can prove successful, and under which Great Britain and the Electorate itself may be involved in one common destruction.

2dly, Because it is, in effect, defeating the intention of that part of the Act of Settlement (the second great charter of England), whereby it is enacted, ' That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, the nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.' For if at this juncture, under all the circumstances of our present quarrel with France, to which no other Prince in Europe is a party, and in which we do not call for, nor wish to receive, the least assistance from the Electorate of Hanover, it shall be deemed necessary in justice and gratitude for this nation to make the declaration objected to, there never can be a situation, or point of time, the same reasons may not be pleaded, and subsist in full force; nor can Great Britain ever engage in a war with France, in the defence of her most essential interests, her commerce and her colonies, in which she will not be deprived of the most invaluable advantages of situation, bestowed upon her by God and nature as an island.

3dly, Because, without any such previous engagement, his Majesty might safely rely upon the known attachment of this
House

ministry being finished, and his arrangements ready, Sir *Thomas Robinson* resigned, upon a pension for three lives, and the wardrobe.—
 Mr. *Fox* was on the same day appointed secretary of state in his room.

C. H. A. P.
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On the 20th of November 1755, Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge* were dismissed from their offices, as were also Messrs. *George* and *James Grenville*.

Mr. Pitt
dismissed.

It is proper to remark, not only because the circumstance is peculiar, and exhibiting a prominent feature in Mr. *Pitt's* character, but as it is an example worthy the imitation of all honest statesmen, that when Mr. *Pitt* was turned out, the balances belonging to his office were all lodged in the Bank. Those who encouraged the many attempts which were made to throw a shade upon his moral character, were the discoverers of this fact, to their utter confusion and mortification.

House to his sacred person, and upon the generosity of this country, famous and renowned in all times for her humanity and magnanimity, that we should set no other bounds to an object so desirable, but those of absolute necessity and self-preservation, the first and great law of nature.

TEMPLE.

Sir

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1755.
New ministry.

Sir *George Lyttelton*, afterwards Lord *Lyttelton*, was made chancellor of the exchequer; Lord *Barrington*, secretary at war; Lord *Darlington* and Lord *Dupplin*, joint paymasters; Mr. *Doddington*, afterwards Lord *Melcombe*, treasurer of the navy; and many other alterations took place, which the reader will find in the general list of administrations at the end of the work.

The new administration was called the *Duke's ministry*; because his Royal Highness had recommended the principal persons who composed it. Notwithstanding the respectability of the recommendation, yet there never was an administration more unpopular and odious.

The first measure was to vote the 100,000*l.* for Russia, which Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge* had refused to pay; also 54,000*l.* to the Landgrave of Hesse.

Mr. Pitt's
speech
against fo-
reign sub-
sidies.

M. S.

Mr. *Pitt* opposed these votes. He contended, 'That a naval war we could and ought to support; but a continental war, upon this system, we could not.' He admitted

mitted that regard ought to be had to Hanover, but it should be secondarily. ‘ If Hanover was made our *first* object, and we proceeded upon this system, it would lead us to bankruptcy. It was impossible to defend Hanover by subsidies. An open country could not be defended against a neighbour who could march 150,000 men into it, and support them by as many more. If Hanover should be attacked on account of her connection with Great Britain, we ought not to make peace until we had procured her full and ample satisfaction for every injury and damage she may have sustained. But the idea of defending Hanover by subsidies he ridiculed as preposterous, absurd, and impracticable. This system,’ he said, ‘ would in a few years cost us more money than the fee-simple of the Electorate was worth; for it was a place of such inconsiderable note, that its name was not to be found in the map. He ardently wished to break these fetters, which chained us, like Prometheus, to that barren rock.’

In the months of January and February 1756, France began to march large bodies of
her

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her troops towards the sea coast, particularly into Picardy and to Dunkirk, and threatened to invade Great Britain. These preparations overwhelmed our timid cabinet with alarm and despair. The ministry thought it was "wisest and best" to defend Great Britain with an army. Accordingly, in the month of March the King sent a message to Parliament, acquainting them that he had made a requisition for a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the treaty lately made with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to be brought forthwith hither. Both Houses thanked the King for his message.

The unanimity with which these addresses of thanks had been carried, encouraged Mr. *Fox* to move another address to the King, which was beseeching his Majesty, "That, for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberty of his subjects against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this Kingdom."

There

There was some debate upon this motion, but people in general were afraid to oppose it, because they foresaw it would be immediately said they were Jacobites, and meant to favour a design of bringing in the Pretender again; and Mr. *Fox* threw out this idea, when he made the motion.

Mr. *Pitt*, however, declared his disapprobation of the measure; the natural force of the nation, he said, was sufficient to repel any attack of the enemy. That state alone is a sovereign state, *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, which subsists by its own strength, not by the courtesy of its neighbours.

Mr. Pitt is
against
bringing in
foreign
troops.

Accordingly, next month both Hessians and Hanoverians arrived in England, and were encamped in different parts of the kingdom.

The people hearing their danger from authority, and seeing these foreigners brought over to defend them, were panic-struck, and gave themselves up to despair.

This

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This conduct of the court of France, in menacing an invasion upon England, was no other than a feint to conceal her real design; which was an attack upon Minorca or Gibraltar. The French cabinet had formed this design with a view to induce Spain to join in the war; but they did not communicate their design to the court of Madrid, until it was too late. For the King of Great Britain, in his memorials to the Spanish ministry, presented by the British minister at Madrid, complained of the conduct of the French in America, and of their hostile designs in Europe; of which the King takes notice in his speech at the opening of the session, and says, That the King of Spain had assured him he would observe a strict neutrality.

In the month of December 1755, it was deliberated in the French cabinet whether they should attack Gibraltar or Minorca. The former was determined upon, and that when it was conquered it should be given to Spain, if Spain would join France in the war against Great Britain. The King of Spain rejected the proposal, on account of the pacific assur-

ance

ance above mentioned, which he had so recently given. So the French changed their plan, and attacked Minorca. They might have taken Gibraltar at that time, for it was almost defenceless. It is not probable that it would have held out so long as Fort St. Philip did. However, some months before the French landed upon Minorca, our ministry received repeated information of the preparations making at Toulon for equipping a fleet, and embarking an army, with all the implements necessary for a siege, and the most positive assurances that Minorca was the object of attack; but they were so thoroughly frightened by the French menaces of an invasion of Great Britain, that they gave neither attention nor credit to the information concerning Minorca, although it came in streams from all parts of Italy, the south of France, and other places. In March they believed the intelligence, and not before. The fate of Minorca, and all the circumstances attending it, are very well known. Lord *Anson* was the person most in fault on that occasion.

Minorca
taken.

Mr. *Pitt*, upon his legs, in the House of Commons, charged the loss of Minorca upon

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Lord *Anson* and the Duke of *Newcastle*, and added, with respect to Lord *Anson* particularly, that he was not fit to command a cock-boat on the river Thames. [But in his speech on the 22d of January 1770, which see in the second volume of this work, he said the loss of Minorca was owing to the want of four battalions.]

Mr. *Fox* said the loss of Minorca was owing to the Dutch refusing the six thousand men he demanded, according to the treaty of 1674; for, had they been granted, he could have relieved Minorca. There may be something in this; but the Dutch were justifiable in their refusal: If they had complied, the French would have treated them as principals in the war. The great error was in the admiralty not sending a larger fleet, and not sending it sooner. Mr. *Byng*'s only fault was acting with too much prudence with his small force. He was sacrificed through the management of Lord *H——*, to screen Lord *Anson*; and so determined were this party upon the measure, that they had provided a naval officer upon whom they could rely, for *President* of the court-martial, had not Lord *Temple*

ple prevented it. It is one of the worst features in the character of *George* the Second that he yielded to this manœuvre; and he was highly offended with Lord *Temple* for defeating it. Mr. *Pitt* said afterwards in the House of Commons, that more honour would have accrued to the King and nation from a pardon to the unhappy admiral, than from his execution.

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In order the more effectually to provide for the security of Hanover, early in the month of January 1756, a convention was made with the King of Prussia, the main object of which was, *to keep all foreign troops out of Germany*; and Parliament voted 20,000*l.* to make good this treaty. Thus the treaty with Russia was virtually renounced.

Convention
with Prussia.

CHAP. XIII.

FURTHER ACCOUNT OF LEICESTER-HOUSE.—THE TWO PRINCESSES OF BRUNSWICK IN ENGLAND.—OBSERVATIONS.—MR. FOX RESIGNS.—CARTE-BLANCHE OFFERED TO MR. PITT.—MINISTRY CHANGED.—MR. PITT APPOINTED SECRETARY OF STATE.—THE KING AND DUKE WISHED TO HAVE KEPT MR. FOX.

CHAP.
XIII.

1755.

THE nation was highly incensed by the losses of Minorca, of the fort of Oswego in America, and some other defeats and miscarriages. The appearance of the Hessians and Hanoverians in England served but to increase the public indignation. A spirit of resentment, and of detestation of the ministers, pervaded every part of the kingdom.

Leicester-
house party.

Besides the frowning aspect of public affairs, there was another of a private, but not less alarming nature to the ministry. This was the party at Leicester-house. The Prince's levees were crowded. Mr. *Pitt*, Lord *Temple*, and the *Grenvilles*, and many others, were frequently seen there. This gave the Lord Chancellor (*Hardwicke*) and the Duke of *Newcastle* much concern. *Their wish now was to get possession of the Prince.* Accordingly,

ingly, they advised the King to send a message to his Royal Highness, offering him a suite of apartments at St. James's and Kensington palaces. Had this step been taken in the year 1752, it might have been productive of the happiest emancipation. There would have been wisdom in the measure at that time; and it must have succeeded. But in 1756 it was too late. The effects of Lord *Bute's* intimacy, confidence, and influence at Leicester-house were now become eradicable: The blossom was off, and the fruit was set. Upon the receipt of this message Leicester-house was thrown into the deepest consternation. The two Princesses of *Brunswick*, whom the King had last year invited to Hanover, were now in England.

We are yet too near the time to relate with safety all the circumstances of this extraordinary affair.

There is such a delicacy prevails in England, greater than in some arbitrary monarchies, concerning the conduct of the Royal Family, that truth of them is usually suppressed until it is forgotten. The justice of

Observations.

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history is thereby perverted; and the constitution, in this important point, is literally and efficiently destroyed. The King of England is no more than the first magistrate. It is an office held in trust. And although the maxim is, that he can do no wrong, which is founded upon the presumption that every privy counsellor, according to the Act of Settlement, signs the advice he gives; yet this law is not always observed, and if it were, all important matters are transacted in the King's name, and he assents to them. In whose name then are they to be scrutinized, examined, and canvassed? The adviser is seldom known.—The nation has unquestionably as deep an interest in the conduct of the Royal Family, as in the conduct of the ministry. Will any body now say, that the German measures in the reign of *George* the Second were not the *favourite* measures of that King, or that they did not *originate* with him? If the free spirit of the constitution was fairly recognized, it must appear that the conduct of the Royal Family is, in every part of it, a proper subject for public disquisition. The people are interested in it; the welfare of the country is concerned in it. Even the *female* branches
are

are called the *children of the nation*; and when they marry their portions are taken out of the public purse. But lawyers say, the people can only know and speak by their representatives. If this legal opinion is well-founded, the liberty of the press, which Englishmen sometimes esteem, but oftener betray, is a mere shadow, an *ignis-fatuus*. Certain it is, that *time-serving* judges and *timid* juries have made a deeper incision in the liberties of England, than all the arms of all the *Stuarts*. Some years ago it was a notion in Westminster-hall, that no person out of Parliament had a right to make observations upon the speech delivered by the King to his Parliament. But after a little reflection and examination this law notion was exploded: It was insupportable; it tended to establish a privileged vehicle of imposition upon the whole nation; than which nothing could be more unjust, nor more foreign to the freedom of the British constitution. The people have a right to examine the conduct of every man in a public situation; it will hardly be contended that they have no interest in that of the Royal Family. Therefore, in those cases, where the party is not only in the highest state of elevation, but possesses the greatest

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extent of power, does not the *exercise* of this right become most essentially their concern? To this delicacy, or something worse, is to be ascribed the general falsification of all *modern* history. If the reader will give himself the trouble to compare the anecdotes in this work with the histories of the times, he will see a manifest difference; and yet the writer declares that he has not inserted a single word which, in his judgment, is not founded in the purest veracity.

We will return to the fact before us. All that can with prudence, or impunity, be added at present is, the Prince did not accept the offer*. Upon which something else was talked of. But Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* “*stood in the gap, and SAVED LEICESTER-HOUSE.*†”

* A *Female* Saxe Gotha was in the contemplation of her in whom a desire of such *affinity* was not only probable but interesting; but the proposal was instantly reprobated by a higher person, who, after expressing himself in terms of asperity, said, “*He knew enough of that family already.*”

† These are the concluding words of one of Lord T——’s letters, in which the particulars of this affair are stated, and which may, in a future day, be published, to shew the *gratitude* of certain people.

The ministers having failed in their design, and being frightened at the storm of public indignation, which was ready to burst upon their heads, determined to resign. The Duke of *Newcastle* applied to Mr. *Pitt*. His Grace assured him, the King was perfectly agreeable to take him into his service. Mr. *Pitt* answered him somewhat abruptly, that he would accept of no situation under his Grace. This was on the 20th of October 1756. The King then desired the Duke of *Devonshire* to go to Mr. *Pitt*, who was at Hayes in Kent, and offer him a *carte-blanche*, except as to Mr. *Fox* only, whom the King wished to keep in his service. Mr. *Pitt* gave a positive refusal as to Mr. *Fox*.

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Carte-
blanche of-
fered to
Mr. Pitt,

When Mr. *Fox* heard this, he immediately resigned: His resignation threw the ministry into confusion, and distressed the King extremely. The Duke of *Newcastle* and the rest of his Majesty's servants resigned also.

Ministry re-
sign.

At the earnest request of the King, the Duke of *Devonshire* took the Duke of *Newcastle*'s place at the Treasury, and again waited on Mr. *Pitt* at Hayes, with a message from

New minist-
ry.

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1756.

his Majesty, requesting to know the terms upon which he would come into office. Mr. *Pitt* gave his arrangement. Himself to be secretary of state; Lord *Temple* first lord of the admiralty; Mr. *Legge* chancellor of the exchequer; the great seal to be in commission; *G. Grenville* treasurer of the navy; *J. Grenville* a lord of the treasury, &c. &c.—The whole were accepted.

While this change of ministers was in agitation, the King gave orders for the return of the Hanoverians to Germany. It was the King's resolution to assemble an army for the defence of Hanover early in the spring, and to give the command of it to the Duke of *Cumberland*. It was with this view the treaty with Hesse had been made, and that the Duke of *Cumberland* had formed the last ministry, as consisting of those persons in whom his Royal Highness thought he could best confide; and that was the reason the King wished to keep Mr. *Fox* in place, because he knew the Duke had a great partiality for him. But the tide of public odium having set so strong against Mr. *Fox* and his coadjutors, the court were obliged to surrender, and to admit Mr. *Pitt*
upon

upon his own terms. The King, however, continued in his resolution to pursue the plan he had formed for the protection of his German dominions.

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1756.

On the 28th of November 1756, the Prince of *Wales*'s household being established, he held his first levee at Saville-house*.

* The principal persons of his Royal Highness's household were :

Earl of Bute, groom of the stole.

Earl of Huntingdon, master of the horse.

Earl of Sussex, Lord Down, and Lord Robert Bertie, with the Earls of Pembroke and Euston, and Lord Digby, lords of the bedchamber.

Messrs. Schutz and Peachy, with hon. S. Marham, hon. G. Monson, C. Ingram, and E. Nugent, grooms of the bedchamber.

Lord Bathurst, treasurer.

Hon. James Brudenell, privy purse.

S. Fanshaw, comptroller.

C H A P. XIV.

MR. PITT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.—RAISES TWO THOUSAND HIGHLANDERS.—GORÉE TAKEN.—REFUSES TO SUPPORT THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.—COMMANDED TO RESIGN.—PRESENTED WITH THE FREEDOM OF SEVERAL CITIES AND CORPORATIONS.—THE KING'S DISTRESSES.—MR. PITT MADE MINISTER UPON HIS OWN TERMS.—HIS TRIUMPH OVER MR. FOX.—THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ADMIRALTY GIVEN TO MR. PITT.

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XIV.

1756.
Mr. Pitt's
first admin-
istration.

ON the second of December 1756, Parliament met. The first measure of government, after sending away the foreign troops, was the establishment of a national militia.

1757.
Raises two
thousand
Highland-
ers.

On the first of January 1757, orders were given for raising two thousand men in the Highlands of Scotland for the British service in America. This measure reflected the greatest honour upon Mr. *Pitt's* wisdom and penetration; and whether he adopted it from the paper, which the reader will find in the note, or whether it originated with himself,
it

it equally shewed the superiority of his mind to all vulgar and local prejudices *. He sent a squa-

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1757.

* The following plan for carrying on the war was submitted to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, in May 1756, and was by his Royal Highness's command delivered to Mr. *Pitt*, by the Earl of *Albemarle* in December 1756:—

“ France constantly keeping numerous armies in pay, is always prepared for war. Wars of a short duration, for the most part, have proved advantageous to that kingdom; but wars of a long continuance very detrimental and ruinous to the people. If the present war is well conducted, before the next year ends that nation will be filled with complaints of losses, and his Majesty's subjects joyful for the successes against their enemies.

“ The land forces in Great Britain and Ireland may be put on a better establishment, by raising more infantry. Two thousand horse of all denominations are sufficient for the service of Great Britain, and one thousand dragoons for Ireland. The troopers and dragoons reduced will form several companies of grenadiers.

“ The British regiments of foot would appear nobly if they contained twelve companies in each, two of them grenadiers.

“ Improvement in agriculture, fisheries, multiplying and enlarging manufactures, the increase of buildings, &c. give so much employment, that workmen are wanted in most parts of England.

“ Therefore, it is expedient to procure out of Germany some regiments for the service of America, and reward them with lands at the conclusion of the war.

“ *Two regiments, a thousand men in a corps, may be raised in the north of Scotland for the said service, and on the same terms. No men on this island are better qualified for the American war than the Scots Highlanders.*

“ Cer-

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a squadron to the East Indies, under admiral *Stevens*, and another to the West Indies, under

“ Certainly the Scots regiments in the Dutch service ought immediately to be recalled. Better it will be for them to serve their own country than perish in sickly garrisons.

“ In the north of Ireland two thousand brave Protestants, or more if necessary, might be raised with celerity and facility, upon the promise of having lands assigned to them when the war is finished.

“ It ought not to be supposed that the French really intend to invade Great Britain or Ireland; the difficulties and dangers which must attend the enterprise, are more than enough to deter them: Nevertheless the report of an invasion made such an impression on the minds of some men in power, or they would have it so believed, that this idle rumour, or feint, occasioned the loss of Minorca, and the neglect of sending so many ships as were necessary in the West Indies.

“ The naval forces of Great Britain being more than twice as strong as the French, and this kingdom so well provided with conveniences for constructing ships of war, that three may be built here as soon as one in France; the British cruisers and squadrons may always exceed the French by a third in all parts, which must distress their commerce to a high degree, ruin their fisheries, and starve the inhabitants in the French sugar colonies. The war continuing three or four years, France must inevitably be greatly distressed; her merchants bankrupted, and her manufactures brought to ruin; others obliged to seek their food in foreign countries; whereas in England the manufactures, more especially the woollen, sell at higher rates when at war with France, than in times of peace.

“ When

der admiral *Cotes*. He sent a small fleet to the coast of Africa, which took the island of Goree from the French, and with it a valuable branch of commerce was obtained. This was the first successful measure of the war.—The nation having been accustomed to disaster and disappointment, this conquest operated greatly to the advantage of Mr. *Pitt*'s character. [See Appendix A.] His resolution was to employ the whole British fleet.

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1757.

Goree
taken.

“ When the French perceive this nation takes proper means for maintaining a war, and *that their secret friends are deprived of directing and administering the affairs of this government**, they will use every artifice and device that fraud and cunning can suggest, *to make an insidious peace*; but it is earnestly recommended, that the war may endure until the enemy is entirely subdued in America, and so totally disabled as not to become troublesome to this kingdom in future times.”

Note, by the author of the preceding:

* When his Royal Highness formed the administration, of which Mr. *Fox* had the lead, the French perceived this influence of their *secret friends* somewhat abridged; and although they still had a share of power, yet they were obliged to act very cautiously. Upon the administration being put into the hands of Mr. *Pitt*, these *secret friends* were *wholly excluded* from the cabinet. While he guided, Great Britain was *in her own hands*. When in the next reign peace was resolved upon, those *secret friends* came forward again to conduct the negotiation. Then Mr. *Pitt* was forced out of administration. He then felt the secret influence of the closet. Our allies were deserted, and peace was made with the enemies of the nation, who were the friends of *these secret friends*.

The

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The debates in Parliament were few and inconsiderable this session. Although Mr. *Pitt* delivered a message from the King, requesting a sum of money for the support of the army that was forming in Germany, he did not support the motion.

The late cabinet saw that the King was very far from being reconciled to Mr. *Pitt*. They employed every secret whisperer to widen the breach, and filled every private channel to the Royal ear with insinuations against him. An inquiry was instituted into the causes of the loss of Minorca, which, if possible, increased their disapprobation. But the circumstance which offended his Majesty most was, Mr. *Pitt*'s refusal to support the army in Germany; in which refusal he was joined by Mr. *Legge*. The Duke was preparing to set out for Germany, and the Royal *request*, at first, was to have an immediate supply of money, without waiting for the approbation of Parliament. The King and Duke, finding the new ministers hostile to their plan of German measures, determined to remove them. The Duke declared he would not go to Germany unless Mr. *Pitt* was removed.—

On

Mr. Pitt refuses to support the D. of Cumberland.

On the 5th of April 1757, the King commanded Mr. *Pitt* to resign; and on the 9th the Duke set out for Germany. Lord *Temple* was also turned out, and Lord *Winchelsea* put at the head of the admiralty; Mr. *Legge* was turned out, and Lord *Mansfield* was appointed to succeed him; no successor was appointed to Mr. *Pitt*; Lord *Holderness*, the other secretary of state, executed the duties of both offices.

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XIV.

1757.
Ministry
changed.

This change of the ministry operated like a convulsion on the nation. The people were exasperated beyond measure at the dismissions of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge*, whom they now joined together, and denominated the political saviours of their country. These dismissions were universally ascribed to the secret influence which it was believed the late ministers still possessed in the King's closet.

It was judged unconstitutional to address the throne upon these changes; therefore another method was adopted to convince the King of the sentiments of the nation. This was, to send addresses of thanks to the dismissed patriots, expressing the highest approbation of their

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Mr. Pitt
and Mr.
Legge pre-
sented with
the freedom
of several
placets.

King's dis-
tresses.

Mr. Pitt
made minis-
ter upon his
own terms.

their conduct, with presents of their freedom of most of the principal corporations, in gold and other boxes of great value and curious workmanship. [See Appendix B.]

This intestine commotion alarmed the court exceedingly. They saw the danger of permitting the ferment to increase. The Duke of *Newcastle*, though at this time not in office, was the first person who went to the King, and advised his Majesty to recall Mr. *Pitt*. The monarch wept; he complained of all his servants. He thought none of them had acted with fidelity towards him since the time of Sir *R. Walpole*. At length he consented to give the Duke of *Newcastle* full power to negotiate with Mr. *Pitt* and all his friends. The Duke of *Newcastle* saw Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* privately; for although the stream of popularity ran in favour of Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Legge*, yet in all measures of consequence Mr. *Pitt* solely confided in Lord *Temple*. The Duke informed Mr. *Pitt* that he was commissioned by the King to agree to Mr. *Pitt*'s terms, and he hoped and trusted that such condescension in his Majesty would meet with the most favourable interpretation.

pretation. Mr. *Pitt*'s reply was full of gratitude and humility to the King. The Duke then said, that it was his Majesty's wish to form an healing administration, and he had left it entirely to the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pitt* to settle every arrangement in the most amicable manner.

Mr. *Pitt*'s first proposition was the exclusion of Lord *Auston* from the cabinet. The Duke of *Newcastle* pleaded earnestly to have Lord *Hardwicke* in the cabinet. He said it was the King's request. Mr. *Pitt* consented; on condition that Sir *Robert Henley* had the great seal: This stipulation was desired by Leicester-house. Lord *Temple* to be privy seal; himself secretary of state, as before. The Duke of *Newcastle* offered Lord *Temple* the treasury. Mr. *Pitt* interfered, and said, "The could not be; his Grace must go there himself*. But if at any time hereafter he should think

think

* There were two reasons for this: The first was, the House of Commons had been chosen by Mr. *Pelham*; at whose death his *pocket list* (as it is called) was given to the Duke of *Newcastle*; and this circumstance made another stipulation in the arrangement, which was, that the Duke should transfer his majority to Mr. *Pitt*. Mr. *Pitt* himself described this fact on a

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His triumph
over Mr.
Fox.

think proper to retire, Lord *Temple* should succeed him." Having gone on some time, in making the arrangements, the Duke said, What shall we do with Mr. *Fox*? Mr. *Pitt* replied, "He may have the pay-office."—

This was a triumph to Mr. *Pitt*—to put Mr. *Fox* below him, and into the office he had left. But it was a triumph too diminutive for the dignity of Mr. *Pitt*'s mind. However, he enjoyed it, which shews the influence of little passions in men of the first abilities. Lord *Anson* was proposed for the admiralty. Mr. *Pitt* declared that Lord *Anson* should never have the correspondence. The Duke replied, that would be such an alteration in the usual business of the board, as could not be settled without his Majesty's consent. Here the conference broke off. Mr. *Pitt* had an audience of the King,

subsequent occasion, in these words: "I borrowed the Duke of *Newcastle*'s majority to carry on the public business."

The other was—Lord *Temple* would have had his brother, Mr. *George Grenville*, for his chancellor of the exchequer; and in that case what could have been done with Mr. *Legge*?—The public would not at that time have approved of any other person in that situation. Mr. *Pitt* also knew that there had been a *private* understanding between the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Legge* for some time past.

He

pretence. Mr. Pitt expressed his confidence be-
tude and honesty of mind. He then said, that it would be
then said, that it would be
form an leading administration. The naval
left is entirely in the hands of the
Mr. Pitt is left very much
most anxious state.

Mr. Pitt said, that he was
of Lord Selkirk's name. He
of Newcastle's name. He
Hardwicke's name. Mr. Pitt said—
King's request. He said, "I will
dine that for the first time, without hesi-
tation. This is a great confidence, and you
ter-house. Lord Selkirk added, "That
himself, I am sure, will be a great
Duke of Devonshire's name. The secretary of state sends all the
treasury. Mr. Pitt said, "I have been agreed to in the
could not be. The secretary to the board
self". He said, "The form of instructions, from
of the board. But during Mr. Pitt's
the instructions himself, and sent
to be signed; always ordering his se-
white paper over the writing. Thus
ignorance of what they signed; and
of the board were all in the same state

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1757.

Mr. *Pitt* at last won so upon the King, that he was able to turn his very partialities in favour of Germany to the benefit of his country." Lord *Anson* took the admiralty, under Mr. *Pitt*'s limitation; and Mr. *Fox* took the pay-office. Mr. *Legge* had the exchequer. All the arrangements being settled, the parties all kissed hands in July 1757; and the nation was thereby restored to tranquillity and satisfaction.

CHAP. XV.

FAILURE OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.—EXPEDITION AGAINST ROCHEFORT.—DISTRESSES OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA.—HANOVER PLUNDERED.—MR. PITT'S TWO PROPOSITIONS, ONE TO SEND A FLEET INTO THE BALTIC, THE OTHER TO CEDE GIBRALTAR TO SPAIN.—ANECDOTE OF THE TREATY OF PEACE MADE IN 1783.—EFFECTS OF MR. PITT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.—MISCARRIAGE OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBOURG.—UNION OF RUSSIA, SWEDEN, AND DENMARK, FOR THE NEUTRALITY OF THE BALTIC.—TAKING OF THE DUTCH SHIPS.—MR. PITT OPPOSES THE PROPOSITION OF SENDING THE BRITISH FLEET TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

THE Duke of *Cumberland* failed on the continent. His Royal Highness attributed his failure to the want of British troops and money. His army was not only inferior to the enemy in number, but consisted entirely of Germans. The French pursued him almost to the sea-coast. The King of Denmark commiserated his situation, and under that monarch's mediation a convention was signed, in the month of September 1757, between the Duke and Marshal *Richelieu*, the French general, by which the allied army were to retire to their respective countries.

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1757.

Failure of
the Duke of
Cumber-
land.

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The King of Prussia was driven out of Bohemia this summer, and an account arrived of the suffocation at Calcutta.

Expedition
against
Rochefort.

Under all these discouraging circumstances Mr. *Pitt* had to commence his new administration. His first measure was an attempt to make a descent upon the coast of France. His view in this was, to oblige the French to recall their troops from Hanover to protect their own kingdom. A fleet and an army were assembled. The destination was kept a profound secret. Sir *Edward Hawke* was commander of the fleet, and Mr. *Pitt* corresponded with him. It is not a little remarkable, that when Mr. *Pitt* ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the period for its being at the place of rendezvous, Lord *Anson* said it was impossible to comply with the order; the ships could not be got ready in the time limited; and he wanted to know where they were going, in order to victual them accordingly. Mr. *Pitt* replied, that if the ships were not ready at the time required, he would lay the matter before the King, and impeach his Lordship in the House of Commons. This spirited menace produced the men of war and trans-

transports all ready, in perfect compliance with the order. They sailed on the 8th of September 1757, from Spithead. The force was considerable; and, had it succeeded, must have made a deep impression. After lying some time before Rochefort, the fleet returned. The cause of the miscarriage was not precisely ascertained. Mr. *Pitt* ascribed it to the inactivity of Sir *John Mordaunt*, who had the command of the troops. The friends of that officer ascribed it to the plan, which, in derision, they called *one of Mr. Pitt's visions*.

The distresses of the King of Prussia daily increased. The Russians quickened their march against him. His territories were invaded on every side; and the French were plundering Hanover. In this situation of affairs, the minister framed two propositions: The first was, to send a fleet into the Baltic, as early in the spring of 1758 as the season would permit, to overawe the Swedes and Russians, particularly the latter; and to support the King of Prussia. The most formidable powers against the King of Prussia were Austria and Russia. Against Austria he was able to defend

To send a
fleet to the
Baltic.

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1757

himself; but Russia being a naval as well as military power, he could not oppose her with equal facility. Her vessels carried provisions, military stores, and reinforcements to her armies in Pomerania and Prussia; and thereby supported their operations with the most essential assistance. An alliance between the two Imperial courts of Vienna and Peterburgh is dangerous to the liberties of Europe. The King of Prussia is a barrier between them; but if either of them should be able to annex the Prussian power to her own, the independence of the other states would be in a critical situation. Upon this ground the proposition was made to the court of Copenhagen, who at first seemed to approve of it.

To cede
Gibraltar to
Spain.

The other proposition was to the court of Madrid. The sovereignty of the Mediterranean being lost to Great Britain with the island of Minorca, our ships having no port in that sea wherein they could lie or refit, it was become almost impossible to keep any fleet there, and absolutely impracticable, in time of war with the House of Bourbon, to carry on any considerable trade in the Levant. For these reasons Gibraltar was become

come of less importance to this country than formerly; while the expence to maintain and defend it, in case of war, must be increased; therefore the proposition was, *to cede Gibraltar to Spain*, if the court of Madrid would undertake to detach France from the war against Prussia and Hanover. The fact is important, and may surprise those who never heard it. But it is to be found in a dispatch to Sir *Ben. Keene*, who at that time was the British ambassador at Madrid; and to Gibraltar was added the British settlements on Honduras and the Musquito shore. Mr. *Pitt* was not partial to Gibraltar. He would have ceded it to Spain in 1761, if he could thereby have dissolved the Bourbon family compact. In the negotiations for peace, in 1783, the Spanish minister at London for some time insisted on the cession of Gibraltar; but having no equivalent to give, the Earl of *Shelburne* (since Marquis of *Lansdown*) firmly refused it, and the whole negotiation for peace was on the point of breaking off entirely, when the Spanish minister received instructions from his court to give up the point. Every reader will make his own comments on these facts. The objects intended to have been gained by the proposed

Anecdote of
the peace of
1783.

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posed cession, were, in their day, of the first importance. [See Appendix R.]

Effects of
Mr. Pitt's
first admini-
stration.

The effects of Mr. *Pitt's* short, or first, administration soon began to appear; and to confirm and increase that confidence, which the nation had reposed in his wisdom and integrity, admiral *Cotes*, whom he had dispatched to the West Indies, had recovered the honour of the British flag; and the East India Company felt themselves perfectly easy under the protection of admiral *Stevens*, who at the same time had been dispatched to the East Indies. Nor were the effects of his being removed from administration less conspicuous; for he had also, during the short time he was in office, ordered, and to a considerable degree prepared, a third fleet, which he designed for North America, the command of which he proposed for admiral *Hawke*; which fleet was intended to co-operate with the army assembled at New York, under Lord *Loudon*, in an attack on Louisbourg; but his successors had not his activity; they changed the command of the fleet to admiral *Holbourne*; nor did the fleet sail from England until some months after the proper time; and in-

instead of joining the army at New York; Lord *Loudon* was waiting at Halifax when admiral *Holbourne* appeared on the American coast. The consequence of this delay was, the expedition was rendered abortive. The French at *Louisbourg* were prepared to receive them; upon which the army returned to New York, and the fleet was dispersed in a storm. Had this expedition proceeded upon the plan it was originally formed, according to the time prescribed, and under the officers first named, there is the strongest reason to believe the war in North America would have been of short duration; at most, it could have lasted but one campaign more; because the French could not have reinforced *Quebec*, and Canada would therefore have fallen a much easier conquest than it afterwards proved. And to this consideration may be added, that great part of that force, which was afterwards employed against Canada, would, in such case, have been employed *elsewhere*. It is impossible to state the extent of the misfortunes which this abortive expedition brought after it, or the extent of the advantages which might have flowed from it, had

Miscarriage
of the expe-
dition
against
Louisbourg.

CHAP. had the plan been carried into execution by
 XV. the person who formed it.
 1757.

Before the conclusion of 1757, the unsound and unwise politics of 1755 and 1756 appeared in a new and unexpected manner.— The convention with Prussia, made in 1756, *for the keeping all foreign troops out of the Empire* [see Appendix E.], destroyed the treaty with Russia, made in 1755, for the defence of Hanover, because the *Russians are foreign troops*. After this example the court of Copenhagen acted. The Danish minister communicated the British proposition of sending a fleet into the Baltic, to the courts of Stockholm and Petersburg. The last court resented it highly, because her alliance with the court of Vienna was then concluded. And though she did not wish to go to war with England, yet sooner than break her faith with the Empress Queen, she would have done it. She therefore suggested an *expedient*, which was an imitation of the conduct of the British court, who had first made a subsidiary treaty with her for troops, and afterwards rendered it ineffectual by a convention with Prussia,

Prussia, to keep all foreign troops out of the Empire. She therefore proposed to Sweden and Denmark a maritime treaty of alliance—to keep all foreign ships out of the Baltic.—Sweden being under the influence of French counsels, entered into it immediately, and Denmark not chusing to incur the enmity of two such powerful neighbours, and being perhaps more under the influence of Russia than Great Britain, became a party to the treaty likewise.

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1757.

Union of
Russia, Swe-
den, and
Denmark.

Thus the British fleet was excluded the Baltic, whatever the Prussian treaties may pretend (which may be seen in the *Appendix E.*). The minister could not send a fleet into that sea unless he made war upon those three powers: And unless he sent a very powerful fleet, no effectual service could be expected; and if he did, the force against France must have been so essentially weakened by it, as to give the French a considerable superiority in the Channel, and in the Atlantic. One fact only need be mentioned, that as soon as the season permitted the ports in the Baltic to be open, a fleet of twenty Russian and ten Swedish

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1757.

Taking of
the Dutch
ships.

dish ships of the line appeared in the Baltic, to preserve the neutrality of that sea.

The French minister was so sensible of the sources of the Baltic for the supply of his navy, that he bribed the Dutch to become the carriers of his Baltic naval stores. But Mr. *Pitt* ordered the Dutch vessels, whenever laden with naval and military stores, to be constantly taken; which judicious and spirited resolution contributed greatly to the successes of his administration *.

Mr.

* When Mr. *Pitt* found the Dutch heartily inclined to assist the French with naval stores, he resolved to make them as heartily tired of doing it; for, without any ceremony, he gave orders that all Dutch ships with cargoes on board for the use of France, should be considered as the ships of enemies, not of neutrals. His orders were not without effect, and in consequence of the captures that ensued, the loudest clamours were raised in Holland against the English. The general cry there was for war. A Memorial was presented to the States General in 1758, in the names of 269 of the principal Dutch merchants, who subscribed it; they complained that trade and navigation, the very sinews of the Republic, were in danger; that the Dutch flag was disregarded by the English, who had already taken 240 of their ships. They called upon the States General for the protection of their property. Nay, they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm, at their own charge, for the support and protection of their navigation.

Mr. Pitt laboured under many disadvantages at the time of his restoration to the office

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1757.

tion. The Memorial concluded with this remarkable paragraph:

“ The petitioners flatter themselves that the toils and the risks, to which their effects are exposed on the seas will have their proper influence on the general body of the State; since the traders of this country, finding themselves left to the discretion of a part of that nation with whom the State is most intimately connected, *will be forced to abandon it, to their great regret, and seek shelter and protection elsewhere*; which will give a mortal blow to the principal members of the State.”

The Dutch, no doubt, must have been very severely handled, when they so far trespassed upon their love of money: as to offer to disburse and arm at their own charge, for the security of navigation; but what must we think of the provocation given by the British minister, when we find the Dutch merchants ready to abandon their country, and become voluntary exiles in a foreign land?

The neutrality of the Dutch did not procure respect for their ports in America, as appears by a letter from St. Eustatia, published in the Amsterdam Gazette, April 9, 1758; wherein the writer declares, “ That the depredations of the English are carried to the utmost height, and that the trade of St. Eustatia is at an end; the harbour being more closely blocked up than that of any enemy—that every vessel is stopped, carried off, and *confiscated*; that jealousy is the motive of the English, conveniency their right, and greediness their law; that the English had gone so far as to confiscate Dutch ships, merely for having entered French harbours, alleging that as they paid the usual charges and customs in those harbours, they thereby became French property, &c.”

of

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1757.

Mr. Pitt op-
poses send-
ing the fleet
to the as-
sistance of
the Duke.

of secretary of state; his former plans had either been defeated, or rendered useless; and he was obliged to make great sacrifices, to correct the errors of others, before he could carry his future plans into execution. Nothing but the magnanimity of his spirit prevented the same interference, which had chilled the execution of his former measures, from extending its blighting influence over his future designs. When the fleet returned from Rochefort, a puerile scheme was proposed by those whose impolitic measures had given birth to the Baltic alliance against us, to send the fleet to the assistance of the Duke of *Cumberland*; who was flying before the French in Hanover. Mr. *Pitt* alone resisted the proposal; upon which the Duke of *Newcastle* and Lord *Hardwicke*, who had pressed it, gave it up. Mr. *Pitt* had not a thorough confidence in his coadjutors, and therefore he did not always assign his reasons for his opinion. On this occasion he only said, that the assistance of a naval armament in the north had been frustrated; and therefore the scene, as well as the instrument of war, must be changed, before any hopes of success could be entertained; but if a contrary opi-

opinion prevailed, he would lay the seals at his Majesty's feet, and retire from his situation.—The cabinet ministers from this time resigned their judgment; in which they were influenced by two motives; one was, a dread of his superior abilities, which threw their minor talents into shade; the other was, an expectation that, by permitting him to indulge in the exercise of his own opinions, he would precipitate his own exclusion from power, by drawing upon himself some capital disgrace; which they were confident would at the same time restore to them the administration of government*.

The Duke of *Cumberland* returned to England, and finding that his conduct had met

* At this period, and for several months past, there had issued from the press a torrent of papers and pamphlets against Mr. *Pitt*, condemning his plans, his measures, his principles, his politics, and even reviling his person, in which the King himself was not spared, for having taken him into his service, and for not dismissing him—all which were permitted to die unnoticed; he felt not the least smart from any of them. One day when Mr. *Grenville* mentioned some of them to him, he smiled, and only said, “*The press is like the air, a charter'd libertine*.”

* Shakespeare—Henry V.

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with the disapprobation of the King, who disavowed the convention of Closter-Seven, he instantly resigned all his military employments, and retired to Windsor.

CHAP. XVI.

THE BATTLE OF ROSBACH, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—
ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE BRITISH COUNCILS.—SUDDEN
PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.—UNION OF THE KING
AND MR. PITT.—THE KING OF PRUSSIA'S RECOMMEND-
ATION.—HANOVERIANS RESUME THEIR ARMS UNDER
DUKE FERDINAND.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE GERMAN
WAR.

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1757.

Battle of
Rosbach,
and its con-
sequences.

ALTHOUGH the operations of the war are foreign to this work; yet those events, from which important circumstances have arisen, and which have either been misrepresented by other writers, or been entirely omitted, it is necessary to mention. Of this nature was the King of Prussia's great victory at Rosbach over the French and Germans, on the 5th of November 1757. No event during the war was attended with such interesting consequences. This victory may be said to have changed the scene, the plan, and the principle of the war. Besides the emancipation which it immediately gave to the King of Prussia, its effects were no less instantaneous and powerful on the councils of Great Britain. The British minister possessed an understanding to distinguish, and a genius to seize, a fortunate

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fortunate circumstance, and to improve it to the utmost advantage. Parliament had been appointed to meet on the 15th of November.—Intelligence of this victory arrived at St. James's on the 9th in the morning. The moment the dispatches were read, the minister resolved to prorogue the Parliament for a fortnight, notwithstanding every preparation had been made for opening the session on the fifteenth. The reason of this sudden prorogation was, to give time to concert a new plan of operations, and to write another speech for the King. Undoubtedly the speech that had been designed would not apply to this great and unexpected change of affairs.—Whether there was any precedent for this extraordinary step, was not in the contemplation of the minister. In taking a resolution that involved concerns of the greatest magnitude, he was not to be influenced by precedents.—Forty thousand Hanoverians, who had laid down their arms, but not surrendered them, composed such an engine of power and strength, as might, if employed *against* France, not *for* Hanover; or to speak in more direct terms, if ordered to act *offensively* instead of *defensively*, might *divide her power*, and thereby

by facilitate the conquest of her possessions in America, Africa, and Asia.

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George the Second, though not possessed of brilliant talents, yet, to a strong firmness of mind, he added a long experience of men and public affairs, with a sufficient share of penetration to distinguish, even in his present short acquaintance with *Mr. Pitt*, and particularly by his instant resolution of proroguing the Parliament, that he was a bold and intelligent minister; qualities which were perfectly agreeable to the King, because the want of personal courage was not amongst his defects. The King himself first suggested to his minister the resumption of his Hanoverian troops. It was the very measure which *Mr. Pitt* had resolved to propose, when he advised the prorogation of Parliament; and it was only by accident or chance that the proposition came first from the King. The King and his minister, therefore, were in perfect unison upon the first mention of this important subject. From this moment the King gave his confidence to *Mr. Pitt*, and the latter, upon discovering the whole of the King's views, saw he could make them se-

Union of the
King and
Mr. Pitt.

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condary and subservient to the interests of Great Britain. During the remainder of the reign, they acted together under the influence of the same congeniality of sentiment, and thereby naturally fell into a perfect union and cordiality of opinion upon all public measures.

The King
of Prussia's
recommend-
ation.

Immediately after the battle of Rossbach, the King of Prussia wrote a letter to the King of England, in which he strongly recommended the resumption of the allied army, and Duke *Ferdinand* of Brunswick to the command of it; and he accompanied this letter with a plan of operations, in which he proposed to act in concert with the Duke. Independent of the policy of the measure, there were not wanting very fair and honourable reasons to support it. The French troops had repeatedly broken several articles of the convention, and had, in general, from the time they entered the Electorate, conducted themselves in a manner more like a banditti of barbarians, than an army of disciplined soldiers.

Hanoveri-
ans refused
under Duke
Ferdinand.

Mr. *Pitt* adopted the whole of the King of Prussia's recommendation; but so portrayed the

the prominent features of the German measures, as to make them co-operate with his own plans of attacking France in every other quarter at the same time. The King of Prussia highly approved of Mr. Pitt's alterations of his plan. Mr. Pitt's plan was bold and comprehensive; but it should be remembered, that timidity in war is as criminal as treachery, and therefore it is proverbially said, that the boldest measures are the safest. The King of Prussia saw it in this sense, and therefore he gave it his warmest approbation. In concert with the King of Prussia, the plan of operations was formed. Emden was secured, and the coast of France was annoyed at his request*. Duke *Ferdinand* drove the French out of Hanover, and pursued them with such rapidity, that France was presently under the necessity of preparing for the *defence* of her own frontiers. This sudden change of affairs, and the victories gained by the King of Prussia in Silesia, shewed that a war upon the

* The King of Prussia saw, and fully comprehended, the wisdom of the attempt upon Rochefort, and he adopted the idea of annoying the coast of France from that measure. He conceived a very favourable opinion of Mr. Pitt's political talents from that circumstance; although it had not been successful.

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continent of Europe, conducted upon British principles, was highly serviceable to the interests of this country. France, so far from being able to invade Great Britain, could not send troops to strengthen her garrisons and settlements abroad; and in a few months her first object was to provide a fresh army to stop the progress of Duke *Ferdinand*; while Mr. *Pitt*, on the other hand, prepared expeditions against her coast, to co-operate with the Duke. In this situation the counsels of France were distracted. Her whole force was kept at home.

Observations on the
German
war.

A German war, conducted upon this principle against France, was the most advantageous war that Great Britain could make, and, notwithstanding the expence has been urged as the greatest objection to it, yet when it is recollected that this war employed the armies of France, and prevented succours being sent to her settlements abroad, it was the most *economical* war that the British minister could carry on. The expence of transporting troops, forage, stores, &c. to a short distance, is infinitely less than to a great one. Whoever will be at the trouble to look over the charges of the American war, which commenced in 1775, and of the German war which commenced

menced under Mr. *Pitt*'s direction in 1758, will see the fact indisputably confirmed. It need only be added, that if the armies of France had been to be conquered in Canada, in the West Indies, in Africa, and in Asia, the expence to this country, of transporting and maintaining an adequate force to encounter them in all those places, must have been immense. Upon a subsequent occasion, the minister emphatically said, "That America had been conquered in Germany." Experience hath since shewn that the assertion was well-founded.

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C H A P. XVII.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—MR. ALDERMAN BECKFORD'S EXPLANATION OF THE NEW PRINCIPLE OF THE GERMAN WAR.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH ON THE ROCHEFORT EXPEDITION.—EFFECTS OF THAT SPEECH.—MR. PITT'S ALACRITY IN OFFICE.—SIR JAMES PORTER'S OBSERVATION.—SUCCESSSES OF 1758.

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1757.

THE proceedings of Parliament, to which we will now return, were not distinguished by any debates during the remainder of Mr. *Pitt*'s administration.

Meeting of
Parliament.

Both Houses met on the first of December 1757, according to the singular prorogation already mentioned. Mr. *Pitt* delivered a message from the King, acquainting the House that he had put his army in motion in Hanover [see Appendix Q.], to act in concert with the King of Prussia, and requesting their support. An adequate sum was immediately voted without a dissenting voice.

Alderman
Beckford's
explanation
of the new
principle of
the German
war.

Mr. Alderman *Beckford* said a few words upon this occasion; which, as they tend to explain the new principle of politics, they will

will not be improper to insert here. ‘ If the
 ‘ Hanoverians and Hessians,’ he said, ‘ were
 ‘ to be entirely under the direction of British
 ‘ councils, the larger the sum that was granted
 ‘ in order to render that army effectual, the
 ‘ more likely it would be to answer the end
 ‘ for which it was given; that is, to try the
 ‘ issue of the war with France; than which, in
 ‘ his judgment, there never was so favourable
 ‘ an opportunity as the present. But if the
 ‘ *Regency of Hanover* were to have the dis-
 ‘ posal of the money, and the disposition of
 ‘ the army, he would not give a shilling to-
 ‘ wards its subsistence.’

A new treaty was made with Prussia, which
 was approved by Parliament, and which the
 reader will find in the Appendix to this work.
 [See Appendix E.]

Parliament was never known to be so una-
 nimous as at this time.

The fleet and army sent against Rochefort
 having returned without making the impression
 intended, Sir *John Mordaunt* was put under
 an arrest, and being a member of Parliament,
 the

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1757.

the King sent a message to the Commons, acquainting them of the restraint upon one of their members. They thanked the King for his attention to their privileges.

Mr. Pitt's
speech on
the Rochefort
expedition.

M. S.

‘ Mr. *Pitt* reprehended, in terms of great warmth, the indolence, the caution, of those intrusted with the execution of military operations during the last campaign.— He declared solemnly that his belief was, that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power. He affirmed, though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers, for the honour and interest of his British dominions; yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of danger, could with confidence be trusted. He particularised the inactivity of Lord *Loudon* in America, from whose force the nation had a right to form great expectations; from whom there had been received no intelligence, except one small scrap of paper, containing a few lines of no moment. He

‘ fur-

further said, that with a force greater than
 ever the nation had heretofore maintained,
 with a King and ministry ardently desirous
 of redeeming her glory, and promoting her
 true interest, a shameful dislike to the service
 every-where prevailed. Nor was it amongst
 the officers alone that indolence and neglect
 appeared; those who filled the other de-
 partments of military service seemed to be
 affected with the same indifference; the
 victuallers, contractors, purveyors, were
 never to be found but upon occasions of
 their own personal advantage. In conver-
 sation they appeared totally ignorant of their
 own business. The extent of their know-
 ledge went only to the making of false ac-
 counts: In that science they were adepts.

This detection of the abuses in the several
 departments, where they had long prevailed,
 and of the want of exertion in the command-
 ers in chief, which had also been obvious,
 operated in a manner highly advantageous to
 the public service. Those gentlemen, as well
 as the nation, now saw that there was a mi-
 nister at the head of affairs, who not only
 knew the duties of his own office, but the
 duties

Effects of
 the preced-
 ing speech

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1757.

duties of others; and therefore they might expect him to examine their conduct; to traverse all parts of it with a keen and penetrating eye. This apprehension roused them from their lethargy in an instant. They awakened as from a dream; and seemed to be electrified by the fire of his mind; they burned with fresh ardour in every subsequent enterprise. The British honour was recovered. The events of the war placed the name of Great Britain upon the highest pinnacle of national honour.

Mr. Pitt's
alacrity in
office.

The minister, in the official duties of his station, was regular, punctual, and indefatigable. His example and his authority awakened in others a proper sense to a similar attention. Order and dispatch were constantly observed. The British ministers abroad, during Mr. *Pitt's* administration, unanimously acknowledged the wonderful exactness with which all the proper communications were made to them, and the clearness and perspicuity in which all their information and instructions were written. Sir *James Porter*, who passed the principal part of his life in a diplomatic character, often declared to his friends,

Sir James
Porter's ob-
servation.

friends, That during Mr. *Pitt's* administration, there was such a correct knowledge, and such an active spirit to be seen in all the departments of state, and in all the concerns of government, and such a striking alteration in the manner, as well as in the matter, of the official communications, that these circumstances alone would have perfectly convinced him of Mr. *Pitt's* appointment or resignation, if he had received no other notice of the event.

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1757.

The session closed on the 20th of June
1758.

1758.

The British arms this year were successful in every quarter of the globe.

Successes of
the British
arms in
1758.

In Asia, owing to the reinforcement Mr. *Pitt* sent by commodore *Stevens*, when he was in office last year, the French were defeated at Massulipatam, and in two naval engagements.

In America, Louisbourg was taken, also the isle of St. John, and the forts Du Quesne and Frontiniac.

In Africa, Senegal surrendered.

In

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1758.

In Europe, admiral *Osborne* defeated and took the French fleet from Toulon, destined for the relief of Louisbourg; and Sir *Edward Hawke* drove another fleet upon the sandbanks on the coast of France, that was equipped at Rochefort for the same purpose. A descent was made on the coast of France, near St. Malo, where all the ships and vessels were destroyed. Another was made at Cherbourg, where the ships, mole, pier, basin, and other works, were all destroyed, and the cannon brought away. A third descent was made in St. Lunar Bay, which being full of rocks, the fleet were obliged to go to St. Cas, and thus the army and fleet became separated. In the re-embarkation at St. Cas, the rear-guard under general *Drury* were cut off by a large body of French troops. However, these descents kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm, and prevented the French ministry from sending any troops to reinforce their army in Germany. Duke *Ferdinand* drove the French army entirely out of Hanover, and across the Rhine. The King of Prussia entirely subdued Silesia, and entered Bohemia and Moravia.

All the terrors of invasion being now transferred from Great Britain to France, the British troops were all sent to scenes of active and important service; and the defence of the island was entrusted to a constitutional and well-regulated militia; which had been raised, disciplined, and officered by the gentlemen of the country.

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1758.

C H A P. XVIII.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—SUCCESSIONS OF 1759.—LORD BUTE'S FIRST INTERFERENCE.—HE GOES TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, AND DEMANDS LORD BESBOROUGH'S SEAT AT THE TREASURY BOARD, FOR SIR GILBERT ELLIOT.—HE ALSO DEMANDS THE REPRESENTATION OF THE COUNTY OF SOUTHAMPTON FOR SIR SIMEON STUART.

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XVIII.

1758.

Meeting of
Parliament.

1759.

ON the 23d of November 1758, Parliament met. The same unanimity prevailed. All the supplies were voted without the least hesitation; and the session closed on the 2d of June 1759, without any debates.

The most ample preparations were made for another vigorous campaign. The successes of the last campaign had inspired every individual, both in the army and navy, with a passion for glory that was nothing short of enthusiasm. [See Appendix D.]

In America, Quebec [see Appendix L.] and Niagara were taken; and in the West Indies, Guadaloupe, and other islands.

In

In Europe, another squadron fitted out at Toulon was defeated in the Mediterranean, by admiral *Boscawen*. Havre was bombarded by Sir *George Rodney*, and Brest was blocked up by Sir *Edward Hawke*. Duke *Ferdinand* defeated the French at Minden; and the King of Prussia, though surrounded by his numerous enemies, maintained himself with astonishing skill and valour.

After the French had been defeated at Minden, they saw it was in vain to press forward their whole strength in Germany, and therefore they resolved upon making their next effort by sea. For this purpose they equipped all the naval force they had at Brest, and other ports in the Atlantic, and with an army which was kept in readiness to embark, they intended to make a descent upon Ireland, with a view of diverting the attention of the British cabinet from Germany and the West Indies. Sir *Edward Hawke* lay off Brest to intercept their sailing, and his squadron was reinforced from time to time. At length the French came out, and Sir *Edward Hawke* gained a complete victory over them, on the twentieth of November 1759.—This victory annihilated the naval power of France.

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XVIII.

1759
Lord Bute's
first inter-
ference.

It was in this year of unanimity and victory, that the seeds were sown of those divisions which appeared soon after the accession of *George* the Third. The patronage of places, that never-failing source of discord, was claimed by Lord *Bute*. Upon Lord *Besborough* going to the post-office, in the month of May 1759, in the room of Lord *Leicester*, deceased, there was a vacancy at the treasury board, and the Duke of *Newcastle* purposed to fill it with Mr. *James Oswald*, from the board of trade, who was recommended by Lord *Halifax*; but Lord *Bute* interfered—He told the Duke of *Newcastle* “ He came to him in the name of all those on that side of the administration, who thought they had as good a right to recommend as any other party whatever; and it was their wish that Mr. (afterwards Sir) *G. Elliot*, of the Admiralty, might be appointed.” The Duke of *Newcastle* finding himself impeded in his own wishes, and resolving not to comply with those of Lord *Bute*, appointed Lord *North* to fill the vacancy.

This was the first cause of difference.

This

1759.

Lord Bute
demands the
represent-
ation of the
county of
Southamp-
ton for Sir
S. Stuart.

The second related to Mr. *Legge*, and happened a few months afterwards in the same year. There being a vacancy in the representation of the county of Southampton, by the Marquis of *Winchester* becoming Duke of *Bolton*, it was the desire of the Prince of *Wales*, signified by Lord *Bute* to Mr. *Legge*, that though Mr. *Legge* had been invited by a great majority of the gentlemen of the county to represent them, yet that he must not accept of those invitations, but yield all pretensions in this matter to Sir *Simeon Stuart*, who had his (Lord B.'s) recommendation.— Mr. *Legge* lamented that he had not known the Prince's inclinations sooner; that his engagements were made, and he could not break them. Mr. *Legge* was elected. But when the Prince became King, although Mr. *Legge* had been made chancellor of the exchequer, by the voice of the nation, and his conduct in office distinguished by the strictest integrity, yet *he was turned out*. [See Appendix G.]

On the 13th of November 1759, Parliament met. The Prince of *Wales* took his seat on the first day. There were no debates

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1759.

upon any public measure this session; which ended on the 22d of May 1760.

The war was carried on with unabating vigour; and the same uniformity of success attended the British arms wherever they appeared.

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DEATH OF GEORGE II.—ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.—
 LORD BUTE MADE A PRIVY-COUNSELLOR.—MADE
 RANGER OF RICHMOND PARK, IN THE ROOM OF THE
 PRINCESS AMELIA.—VIEWS OF THE NEW KING'S PARTY.
 —METHODS TAKEN TO ACCOMPLISH THOSE VIEWS.—A
 NUMBER OF WRITERS HIRED AT AN ENORMOUS EX-
 PENCE TO ABUSE THE LATE KING, THE DUKE OF CUM-
 BERLAND, MR. PITT, AND ALL THE WHIGS; TO REPRE-
 SENT THE WAR AS RUINOUS, UNJUST, AND IMPRAC-
 TICABLE.—MR. CORNEWALL'S OBSERVATION ON LORD
 MANSFIELD.—PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.—MR. LEGGE
 TURNED OUT.—LORD HOLDERNESSE RESIGNS UPON A
 PENSION.—LORD BUTE MADE SECRETARY OF STATE IN
 HIS ROOM.—THE KING'S MARRIAGE.—GENERAL
 GRÆME'S MERITS ON THIS OCCASION.—FRENCH ANEC-
 DOTES.—OBSERVATIONS ON ROYAL MARRIAGES WITH
 FOREIGNERS.—NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE.—BREAKS
 OFF.—MARTINICO TAKEN.—MR. PITT PREPARES FOR A
 WAR WITH SPAIN.—HIS DESIGN OF ATTACKING THE
 HAVANNAH.

UNFORTUNATELY for the war, but
 more unfortunately for Great Britain,
 on the 25th of October 1760, the venerable
George the Second died. [See Appendix F.]
 The circumstances of his death are too well
 known to be repeated here. As to the suc-
 cessor, the effects of the wickedness of his ad-

C H A P.
XIX.

1760.

Death of
George II.
and accession
of George
III.

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XIX.

1760.

vifers have been, and are still, too deeply felt to be described in any terms adequate to the injuries committed. Posterity, in a subsequent age, when truth may be spoken, and the motives of men laid open, will be astonished at the conduct of their ancestors at this period.

Two days after the King's accession the Earl of *Bute* was introduced into the privy council, and at the same time the name of the Duke of *Cumberland* was struck out of the liturgy. Another circumstance not less remarkable immediately succeeded; this was, Lord *Bute* was made ranger of Richmond park, in the room of the Princess *Amelia*, who was turned out.

Ranger of
Richmond
park.

It was the fixed design of the party which the new King brought with him from Leicester-house, to remove the ministers, and conclude the war*; but the tide of popularity ran so strong in favour of both, they were obliged

* The King is made to acknowledge, in November 1763, in his speech to Parliament, "The re-establishment of the public tranquillity was the FIRST great object of my reign."

to

to postpone the execution of their design, until they had prepared the nation to receive it. For this purpose a great number of writers were employed to calumniate the late King, the Duke of *Cumberland*, Mr. *Pitt*, and all the Whigs.

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Writers engaged to calumniate the late King, &c.

The late King was reviled for the affection he had shewn to his native country, for his love of female society†, and for his attachment to the Whigs.

The Duke was charged with inhumanity; he was styled “A Prince that delighteth in blood,” because the Princess of *Wales* had sometime ago conceived a jealousy of his popularity. Nothing could be more unjust than this suspicion; there was not a person in the kingdom more firmly attached to the rights of her son,

The Whigs were called Republicans, although many of them had exhausted their fortunes in support of the monarchy.

† After the death of Queen *Caroline*, he was fond of a game at cards in an evening with the Countesses of *Pembroke*, *Albemarle*, and other ladies.

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But Mr. *Pitt* was the principal object of their calumny. He was assailed in pamphlets, in newspaper essays, and in every other channel of conveyance to the public. The war upon the continent was called *his* German war; his former opposition to German measures was contrasted with his present conduct; the expences of former wars were compared with the present war. The ruin of the country, the annihilation of all public credit, were predicted and deplored as the inevitable consequences of the present unjust, impolitic, and impracticable war; for although it was successful, yet they affirmed that every victory and every conquest was a fresh wound to the kingdom. Mr. *Pitt's* thirst for war, they said, was insatiable; his ambition knew no bounds; he was madly ruining the kingdom with conquests.

By the conquest of Canada they affirmed that all had been obtained that justice gave us a right to demand; every subsequent conquest, they affirmed, was not only superfluous, but unjust; that it was now perfect suicide to go on conquering what must be surrendered; they wept over our victories. The nation,
they

they said, was destroying itself. At the same time they held out flattering and false pictures of the enemies strength and resources.

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Smollett, Mallett, Francis, Home, Murphy, Mauduit, and many others, were the instruments employed upon this occasion. It has been said that the sum paid to these and other hired writers, during the first three years of the reign of *George* the Third, exceeded forty thousand pounds. And the printing charges amounted to more than twice that sum. In facilitating the views of the party the money was well laid out, for the nation was completely duped. And as to the few who might attempt to undeceive the public, there was a *political judge* * ready to punish their temerity.

A per-

* *Lord Mansfield*; of whom *Mr. Cornswall* (late Speaker) said in the House of Commons, on serjeant *Glynn's* motion concerning libels [see Chap. XL. and Appendix S.], "That a man clothed in the robe of magistracy ought never to be a politician: If such an one ever should, he would carry his politics and his prejudices into the court where he presided, to the imminent and almost certain danger of every man whom the confident of the closet, or the minister of the day, wished to have destroyed." This suspicion of *Mr. Cornswall's* is far

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A person at this time (thirty years subsequent) may very rationally ask if there were any Englishmen weak enough to give credit to these base assertions. The question indeed is natural; and if the answer corresponds with truth, it must be confessed, that such was the

far from being new. We meet with something similar to it in *Algernon Sydney's* Discourses on Government. The following extract is taken from the quarto edition, page 214 :

“ To this end the tribunals are filled with court parasites, of profligate consciences, fortunes, and reputation, that no man may escape who is brought before them. If crimes are wanting, the diligence of well-chosen officers and prosecutors, with the favour of the judges, supply all defects; the law is made a snare; virtue suppressed, vice fomented, and in a short time honesty and knavery, sobriety and lewdness, virtue and vice, become badges of the several factions, and every man's conversation and manners shewing to what party he is addicted, the Prince who makes himself head of the worst, must favour them to overthrow the best, which is so straight a way to an universal ruin, that no state can prevent it unless that course be interrupted. And whoever would know whether any particular Prince desires to increase or destroy the bodies and goods of his subjects, must examine whether his *government* be such as renders him grateful or odious to them; and whether he do pursue the public interest, or for the advancement of his own authority set up one in himself, contrary to that of his people; which can never befall a *popular government*; and consequently no mischief equal to it can be produced by any such, unless something can be imagined worse than corruption and destruction.”

industry used in writing and circulating these doctrines, that the new King's faction, in a short time, had their defenders in every town and village in the kingdom.

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The war indeed went on, and though the conquests and victories were not less brilliant than heretofore, the expence was continually urged as a matter of more importance than the advantage.

The unanimity of Parliament was not yet disturbed. As the ensuing session was the last session of the present Parliament, the King's party thought it most prudent to postpone any attacks in either House until the new Parliament was elected. The session commenced on the 18th of November 1760, and closed on the 19th of March 1761.

The Parliament was immediately dissolved.

And on the same day Mr. *Legge* was dismissed.

Upon the dismissal of Mr. *Legge* the whole ministry ought immediately to have resigned.

A mea-

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A measure of such union and spirit must have had the happiest effects. The new King's favourite would have been checked in his design of seizing upon the kingdom; and the K—— himself would have been convinced, that the Tory principles, inculcated at Leicester-house, though amusing in theory, were mischievous in practice.

Lord Bute
made secretary of State;
and Mr.
Jenkinson
his commis.

Two days after the dismissal of Mr. *Legge*, Lord *Holderneffe* resigned, upon condition of having a large pension secured to him, and the reversion of the cinque ports. Lord *Bute*, in whose favour this resignation was purchased, was instantly appointed secretary of state in his room; and he made Mr. *Charles Jenkinson* his *confidential commis.*

It was now obvious to every understanding, that there was an end of that unanimity which had for some years so happily and so honourably prevailed in council, and in Parliament. The resolution of the new King's faction, to change the ministry, was now perceptible to every man, who had not lost his penetration, in that torrent of popularity, which was artfully managed to absorb all considerations, in
the

the most extravagant eulogies on the sound wisdom of the King, and the immaculate virtues of his mother. [See Appendix P.]

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The faction further contrived to amuse the people with *two* other circumstances this year. One was the King's marriage, the other his coronation, which gave them opportunity to proceed in their measures unobserved by the nation.

King's
marriage.

The merit of *finding out* the lady was claimed by general *Græme* *. But the writer
of

General
Græme's
merits.

* There was a controversy upon this subject in the public papers, which merits more notice than controversies upon the concerns of individuals usually deserve. We shall select only two short papers, as they contain some facts which are curious.

It should be previously observed that, in the first arrangement of the Queen's establishment, general *Græme* was made secretary to the Queen; and in 1765 he was also made comptroller; but in February 1770 he was dismissed from her Majesty's service.

On the fourth day of October 1777, the following paragraph appeared in the public prints:—

“ It were to be wished that, in introducing general *G—e* to the public notice, a little more pains had been taken to explain the ease and independence that gentleman was called from, as well as his appointment as negotiator and ambassador. The world

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of *Le Montagnard Parvenu* ascribes it to Lord *Bute*, for he says, page 17, "Heaven, through

world has hitherto had the misfortune of beholding this officer only in the light of a simple individual; bred in a foreign service; employed once as a *private* agent, to find out where a negotiation might be set on foot, and rewarded liberally for the discovery. It remains also to know the independent patrimony he was originally seized of, and how he may have spent it in her Majesty's service. These and other circumstances being cleared up, will have the effect of rescuing from oblivion an illustrious character, whose merit has apparently not been enough considered."

[*This paragraph, at the beginning, seems to allude to some prior publication; but notwithstanding a diligent search, nothing can be found, except a short paragraph, stating that general Græme had resigned his employment.*]

To the Printer, &c.

"I TAKE the earliest opportunity to comply with the wish of the paragraph-writer in your paper of to-day, respecting general *Græme*. At the time he was first sent to Mecklenburgh, he was possessed of a family estate of six hundred pounds a year, and twenty thousand pounds in money. Your correspondent, though he takes up the ludicrous style, as master of his subject, is certainly very ill-informed. General *Græme* was sent three several times to Germany; once as a private agent, and twice as a public one; first to find out a Princess, then to bring her over; and lastly to carry the garter to the Prince her brother. The expences of these journies were considerable; he gave in no bill of them—the others employed did. His liberal rewards were a regiment, which cost him seven thousand pounds in raising; the office of secretary to the Queen, for which he drew only one

through the intermediate agency of the new Secretary of State (Lord B.), pointed out Princess *Charlotte* of Strelitz Mecklenburg."

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The

one *half* of the salary, *being rode for the other half*, and some time after he was made comptroller to the Queen's household. He retired from her Majesty's service with not one shilling of ready money, and his estate so much encumbered, that he has little more than his regiment to support him. Vice or extravagance he has never been accused of. Let common sense put all this together, and I defy the most obsequious courtier to say that he has been indemnified, far less rewarded. He went when a boy into the Scotch brigade, in the service of the States of Holland, &c. then reckoned famous for military discipline; and I believe had finished his first campaign, before Major *Sturgeon* (whom, from the phrase 'seised of,' I take to be the author of the paragraph) had finished or broken his apprenticeship to the attorney.

OB. 4, 1777.

G. A. B."

To the Printer, &c.

October 12, 1777.

"TO rescue merit from obscurity is highly laudable. This praise will deservedly belong to the letter-writer who celebrates the virtues and disappointments of general *G—e*, when he has thrown the necessary light upon some few points. He grants that this gentleman was bred in the Dutch service, and that he was at first a *private* agent, "to find out a Princess:" (It were to be wished he had chose another phrase, for this will hardly be received as a compliment by the family it is applied to.) But then the second commission was *public*, "to bring her over." Here either the letter-writer or the public is in a great error. For the universal belief has been,

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The same writer, in pages 17, 18, and 19, gives us the following paragraphs:

“ The late King had, towards the close of his reign, recommended the Princess of

that the late Lord *Harcourt* was the minister commissioned to bring her over†. Again, the paying of seven thousand for a regiment is a new sort of traffic, even in this commercial country, and merits a full illustration; yet even admitting of its full extent, as this happened so many years ago, the general must, upon a moderate computation, be a very considerable gainer upon that bargain; besides the very unusual favour of being adopted from a foreign service, over the heads of a multitude of brave and deserving officers in our own.— Another point to be cleared up is, his having spent in the public service so large a patrimony as his estate of six hundred pounds a year, and twenty thousand pounds in money, besides the emoluments of a regiment, a *half secretaryship*, and a *whole comptrollership*. The hungry courtiers surely did not ride him in all of these, estate and money and all; for Germany (though it is a great gulph) could not have swallowed any thing like this in three journies. The bills, had they been given in (which it is really pity they were not), could scarcely, we should think, have amounted to one tenth part of the general's patrimony alone.

Your's, &c.

D.”

† [*It is well known that Lord Harcourt was the person who went to Mecklenburgh in a public character; but that circumstance does not invalidate the fact of general Graeme being the confidential man; for according to the principle of government laid down for the new reign, there were always an ostensible man and a confidential man in every situation; and this anecdote shows the very early period at which the theory of the system of duplicity, which had been taught at Leicester-house, was put in practice at St. James's.*]

Brun-

Brunswick, for the transcendency of her person and mind; but a proposal for a Princess of *Saxe Gotha*, reported to be in every sense the reverse of the other, counterworked the then Royal intention, and so puzzled matters that a marriage with neither took place. . . .

“ His (Lord *Bute*’s) conduct arose not from any views similar to those which had actuated a Duke of Bourbon, in procuring a Queen for the French monarch (*Louis XV.*).

“ On the decease of the Duke of *Orleans* Regent, the Duke of *Bourbon* insinuated himself so adroitly with the young, implicit, and inexperienced King, as to establish himself prime minister. . . .

French
anecdote.

“ He so contrived matters as to have the Infanta, a Spanish Princess, and of the Bourbon family, sent back [see Appendix R.]; a gross affront to his then Catholic Majesty.—The main spring of the Duke’s policy was, to chuse a Princess to be raised to the throne of France, who should appear to him the poorest and the most friendless in Europe; that being raised from her former indigent state, she

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should be the more fastly bound in obligation to him."

Observations on
royal marriages.

Any person acquainted with the history of England must know, that greater misfortunes to the nation have arisen from the marriage of English sovereigns with foreigners than from their marriage with natives. The marriages of *Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI. Charles I. &c.* are incontestable proofs of the truth of this observation.

The exclusion of the natives from their Sovereign's bed, is founded in a traditional error, or bare prejudice; and that, most probably, a very silly one. It is no more than this, That the marriage of the Prince into a private family may excite envy in other families.

Such a circumstance may, or it may not, happen; but supposing that it should happen, have we not seen that favourites of no family nor merit, only by administering to the passions and weaknesses of sovereigns, have disposed as absolutely of titles, places, preferments, pensions, reversions, &c. as any wife
or

or relation could do? If this abuse is unavoidable, might not this question be fairly asked, Is not the exercise of such power safer in the hands of a native of distinction, than in those of any agent or agents of any foreigner whatever?

The nobility and gentry of these realms may be said to be in a conspiracy against themselves, while they neglect to explode that vulgar error which sends our Princes in quest of foreigners for wives, in whom their private happiness is as little consulted as the public welfare; and in which alliances we sometimes import not the best, but the worst blood on the continent.

There was likewise a *third* circumstance this year, which commenced prior to either the King's marriage or coronation, and which claimed a considerable share of the public attention. This was a negotiation for peace, desired by France, and carried on in London by M. *Buffy*, and in Paris by Mr. *Hans Stanley*. The reader will find in the Appendix [see Appendix H.] all the important documents of the negotiation. M. *Buffy* arrived

Negotiation
with France.

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in London in May 1761, and Mr. *Stanley* at Paris in the same month. This negotiation continued until August, at which time the court of France had prevailed on the King of Spain to join them in the war. Mr. *Pitt* had suspected for some time that this junction was in contemplation; and upon the delivery of a Memorial by M. *Buffy*, on the interests of Spain (when there was a Spanish minister at our court), he was confirmed in his suspicions. He saw that a war with Spain was inevitable; and he immediately made preparations for it. He had ordered an attack to be made on the French island of Martinico, and the other islands belonging to that power in the West Indies. And it was now his resolution to hasten those measures, and to send the fleet and army, as soon as those islands were reduced, against the Havannah, the key of the Spanish West Indies; and also to reinforce the army with the troops from North America, where the troops were completed.

Martinico,
&c. taken.

Martinico, St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent, were taken by his order. The French power in the East Indies was totally destroyed; and Belleisle, on the coast of France, was taken.

There

1762.

Mr. Pitt's
design of
taking the
Havannah.

There was a very unaccountable negligence in equipping the expedition against the Havannah, under the subsequent administration, who could not avoid attempting this conquest, because the plan of it was left to them by Mr. Pitt. After taking the last of the French islands in the West Indies, the victorious troops remained idle a considerable time. Had they been sent immediately against the Havannah, as Mr. Pitt intended, the Spaniards would have been attacked before they were prepared, and the place would have been taken before the unhealthy season commenced. The misfortune was, that though the ministry sent only four ships from England, to join the armament Mr. Pitt had assembled in the West Indies; yet these ships did not sail from England until the month of March 1762; at which time, according to Mr. Pitt's plan, they would have been before the Havannah; for Martinico surrendered on the 12th of February. Our great loss of men at the Havannah was more owing to the unhealthy season, than to the fire of the enemy*.

* There was a suspicion, and it seems to have been founded on neither ordinary nor weak probability, that the ministry

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would have rejoiced at a defeat before the Havannah. The officers were appointed upon the recommendation of the Duke of *Cumberland*, who was not less obnoxious to the faction, called the King's friends, than Mr. *Pitt* himself. They were sent in the manner above mentioned. The advices of this important conquest arrived in England when the negotiation for peace was nearly finished; the negotiation was prolonged by it, because ministers were obliged to increase in their demands respecting the terms of peace; a circumstance that was quite opposite to their private wishes; which were to obtain peace, as soon as possible, upon any terms, rather than carry on the war.

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STATE OF FRANCE.—MR. PITT OPPOSED IN HIS DESIGN TO SEND SOME SHIPS TO NEWFOUNDLAND.—THAT PLACE TAKEN.—RE-TAKEN.—MR. PITT OPPOSED IN HIS DESIGN TO ATTACK THE SPANISH FLOTA.—MR. PITT AND LORD TEMPLE OPPOSED IN THEIR ADVICE TO RECALL LORD BRISTOL FROM MADRID.—THREE COUNCILS UPON IT.—MR. PITT AND LORD TEMPLE RESIGN.—DESIGN AGAINST PANAMA AND MANILLA.—ASSERTIONS OF LORD TEMPLE AND LORD BUTE.—THE GAZETTE ACCOUNT OF MR. PITT'S RESIGNATION.—HIS LETTER TO THE CITY OF LONDON.—ALL THE SPANISH TREASURE ARRIVED IN SPAIN.—EXPLANATORY NOTE.—MR. PITT GREATLY APPLAUDED IN THE CITY OF LONDON.—WAR DECLARED AGAINST SPAIN.—EPITOME OF MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

FRANCE at this time was reduced to the lowest state of distress and despondency. All her colonies were in the hands of Great Britain. Her arms had been discomfited in every quarter. The payment of her public bills was stopped; and she might literally be called a bankrupt nation. She was reduced to a more distressed and humbled condition in the three years administration of Mr. Pitt, than by the whole ten years war of the Duke

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1761.
State of
France,

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of *Marlborough* *. Her navy was ruined: She had not at this time ten ships of the line fit for service; yet with these her ministers resolved to make one more effort. Their design was to obtain a share of the fishery in the North American seas, at a cheaper rate than they could hope to gain it by treaty. From a circumstance that happened during the late ne-

* France was never more pressed by England than during Mr. *Pitt*'s administration. An Englishman might, at this period, with some propriety ask, Where were now her 450,000 fighting men, which her ministers boasted of in the reign of *Louis* the Fourteenth? And where her sailors, who in the same reign fought on board one hundred ships of war? It may be answered, that we had thousands of her sailors in prison, and that her number of land forces was diminished one half. So reduced was her navy before November 1759, it is well known she was obliged to force the peasants into that service; and it is well known that, however decreased her armies might be, compared with the flourishing times of *Louis* the Fourteenth, still it was with the greatest difficulty the government could pay and provide for those armies; and had they resolved upon an augmentation of them, their revenues would have failed to support them, and what is more, the augmentation itself was impracticable. The dregs of the people, and the lower artificers, were already swept away by the recruiting serjeant; and the fields were in a manner abandoned.—Whoever travelled through France at that juncture, might see the women not only drive, but hold the plough. And in some provinces it was no uncommon spectacle to behold two women yoked with one cow drawing the plough.

gotiation,

gotiation, Mr. *Pitt* foresaw that they would make this attempt. His diligence and penetration were constant and uniform; and they were not less apparent on this than they had been on every former occasion. Immediately on the departure of M. *Buffy*, he proposed to send four ships of the line to Newfoundland: But, to his great surprise, he was opposed in this measure. The cabinet put a negative upon his proposition. The consequence was, the French took Newfoundland. As soon as Lord *Amberst*, who was at New York, heard it, he sent his brother and Lord *Colville* to retake the island, which they accomplished, before the arrival of any orders from England.

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Mr. Pitt
opposed in
his design
respecting
Newfound-
land.Newfound-
land taken.

Mr. *Pitt* now saw, and felt, the strength of the new King's party. He did not, however, resign upon this check; because his grand object was Spain. His design was, by an early and vigorous exertion, to cripple that power. He did not suspect the House of Bourbon to have so many friends in England as he afterwards found. The King of Spain had, at this time, an immense treasure at sea, coming from America. He was sensible the King of Spain would not declare himself until that treasure had arrived. Mr. *Pitt's* design

was

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Mr. Pitt's
design of at-
tacking the
Spanish
flota op-
posed.

Mr. Pitt and
Lord Tem-
ple opposed
in their ad-
vice to re-
call Lord
Bristol.

was to intercept it, and bring it to England. He was confident of the hostile intentions of Spain. The plan of union, which had been negotiating between the courts of France and Spain all the summer at Paris, was now completed ; and Mr. *Pitt* had been furnished with a copy of this treaty of alliance, which included all the branches of the House of Bourbon, and is commonly called the Family Compact. [See Appendix K.] He communicated to the cabinet his resolution of attacking Spain. Lord *Bute* was the first person who opposed it ; he called it rash and unadvisable. Lord *Granville* thought it precipitate, and desired time to consider of it. Lord *Temple* supported Mr. *Pitt*, which he had done uniformly from his coming into office. The Duke of *Newcastle* was neuter. The Chancellor was absent. Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* submitted to his Majesty their advice in writing, signed by themselves, to recall Lord *Bristol* (the British ambassador) from Madrid. This was on the 18th of September 1761.

A few days afterwards a second cabinet was summoned upon the same subject. All the cabinet ministers were present. Mr. *Pitt* al-

asserted that he did not ground his resolution of attacking Spain upon what the court of Spain had said, or might say, but upon what that court had *actually done*. The majority said they were not yet convinced of the necessity or propriety of his measure; and the cabinet broke up without coming to any resolution. In a few days more a third cabinet was summoned upon this subject. Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* insisted upon the necessity of recalling Lord *Bristol*. Every other member of the cabinet now declared against the measure; upon which Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* took their leaves. Lord *Granville* (the Lord President) regretted that they were going to lose Mr. *Pitt* and his noble relation. He spoke highly of Mr. *Pitt's* penetration and integrity, but on this occasion he thought him mistaken, for the best accounts from Spain justified a contrary opinion. His Majesty having rejected the written advice of Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple*, they resigned on the fifth of October 1761*.

Mr. Pitt
and Lord
Temple re-
sign.

But

* A few weeks previous to Mr. *Pitt's* resignation, the following conversation, as nearly as it can be related from memory,

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1761.

But the most abandoned part of this business was in the House of Lords, on the commencement—

memory, happened between Mr. Pitt and a *General Officer* :—

“ Sir,” says Mr. Pitt, “ I find the Spaniards are determined to break with us. It may become a fortunate circumstance, for although we have taken the French islands and colonies, they do not afford us ready money, which we want. You must take possession of Panama : How many regiments shall you want for such an expedition ? The ships can be provided for the purpose immediately ; I have no doubt of making up 5000 men, if necessary, from the British colonies, who are now secure. We have no reason to apprehend a disappointment ; they may not be ready in time, but must be sent you as they are raised, rather as recruits than part of your command.”

General Officer.—“ Sir, I shall not want a great number of disciplined troops ; I know the exact force in that part of America ; give me three or four regiments, with instructions to the middle and southern provinces to supply me with a few men accustomed to bush-fighting, and about two thousand negroes to work in the heat of the day. Give me powers to form an alliance, and a promise of protection in religion and commerce. I’ll answer for the success, not only against Panama, but for a resignation of all Spanish America, in all matters which may be deemed beneficial to Great Britain.”

Mr. Pitt.—“ Sir, get yourself in readiness ; your commission shall be made out immediately.”

Nor was this all. He meditated an attack upon the Philippine islands ; and he consulted Lord Anson upon the subject, on account of his knowledge of those seas. Mr. Pitt’s design was to have reduced Panama first, and next to have made a
de-

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1761.

Assertions
of Lord
Temple and
Lord Bute.

mencement of the first session of the new Parliament, on the 6th of November 1761, when Lord *Temple* said, in the debate, ‘ That their
 ‘ advice (meaning Mr. *Pitt* and himself) was
 ‘ not founded upon *suspicion* only, although
 ‘ they had for *several months suspected* the
 ‘ views of Spain, and would have been amply
 ‘ justified from the *just grounds* of their *sus-*
 ‘ *pitions*, but upon positive and authentic in-
 ‘ formation of a treaty of alliance being signed
 ‘ between France and Spain.’ Upon which Lord *Bute*, with astonishing and incredible effrontery, got up, and pronounced these words :

detachment from thence against Manilla. The reader has been already informed of his design against the Havannah, which, though it was afterwards executed by his successors, yet had he continued to direct the war, that conquest would have been accomplished much sooner, and consequently great part of the force employed there would have been at leisure, perhaps, to have co-operated at Porto Bello, or some other place, with the expedition against Panama, or have been ready for any other service. His design against the Philippine islands was adopted by his successors, but materially altered, by joining the East India Company in the measure. Nor would this expedition have been undertaken, if Lord *Anson* had not, in the strongest terms, repeatedly recommended and pressed it to Lord *Egremont*.

‘ My

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‘ My Lords,

‘ I affirm, *upon my honour*, that there was
 ‘ NO intelligence of such a fact so constituted,
 ‘ at that time.’

This brought Lord *Temple* up again, who affirmed also *upon his honour*, ‘ That there
 ‘ WAS intelligence of the highest moment;
 ‘ that he was not at liberty to publish that
 ‘ intelligence in the House, but would refresh his Lordship’s memory in *private*.’—
 He beckoned Lord *Bute* out of the House, and repeated to him the intelligence which had been laid before the cabinet. In this conference Lord *Bute* found himself under the necessity of acknowledging that he *recollected* it. The dates will shew the fact indisputably. The Family Compact was signed on the 15th of August 1761; it was ratified on the eighth day of September, and the written advice to recall Lord *Bristol* was given and dated on the 18th of the same month.

Mr. *Pitt*’s resignation was not published in the London Gazette until *five* days after it had taken place. The ministry waited for some
 of

of *their favourable* advices from Spain to contrast with it.

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In the Gazette of October 10, 1761, these articles appeared together:

“ *Madrid, September 4.* A report having
“ been lately spread here; upon the arrival
“ of our late letters from France, as if there
“ was reason to apprehend an immediate rup-
“ ture between our court and that of Great
“ Britain, *we*” [*who were meant by this pro-*
“ *noun?*] “ understand that the Spanish mini-
“ sters, in a conversation which they had
“ lately with the Earl of *Bristol*, ambassador
“ extraordinary from his Britannic Majesty,
“ expressed their concern thereat, and de-
“ clared very explicitly to his Excellency,
“ that on the part of their court there was
“ not the least ground for any such appre-
“ hensions, as the Catholic King had, at no
“ time, been more intent upon cultivating a
“ good correspondence with England, than
“ in the present conjuncture; and at the
“ same time informed the Earl of *Bristol* that
“ orders had been sent to Monsieur *Manfo*,
“ governor of San Roque, to reprimand such
“ of the inhabitants under his jurisdiction as

Gazette ac-
count of the
resignation.

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“ had encouraged the illegal protection given
 “ to the French privateer row-boats, under
 “ the cannon of a Spanish fort.”

“ *St. James's, October 9.* The Right
 “ Honourable *William Pitt* having resigned
 “ the seals into the King's hands, his Ma-
 “ jesty was this day pleased to appoint the
 “ Earl of *Egremont* to be one of his Majesty's
 “ principal secretaries of state. And in con-
 “ sideration of the great and important services
 “ of the said Mr. *Pitt*, his Majesty has been
 “ graciously pleased to direct, that a warrant
 “ be prepared for granting to the Lady *Hester*
 “ *Pitt*, his wife, a barony of Great Britain,
 “ by the name, style, and title of Baroness
 “ of *Chatham*, to herself, and of Baron of
 “ *Chatham* to her heirs male; and also to
 “ confer upon the said *William Pitt* Esq. an
 “ annuity of three thousand pounds sterling,
 “ during his own life, and that of Lady
 “ *Hester Pitt*, and their son *John Pitt* Esq.”

“ *St. James, October 9.* This day Earl
 “ *Temple*, keeper of the King's privy seal,
 “ resigned the said seal into his Majesty's
 “ hands.”

The moment the preceding intelligence was published, Mr. *Pitt*'s character was assailed with the most ardent malignity and savage phrenzy that ever disgraced any age or country, by all the hired writers in the service of the King's party. They branded him with the names of pensioner, apostate, deserter, and with every term of reproach that malice could apply, or depravity suggest. Every newspaper was filled with their invectives. Pamphlets were written and industriously circulated for the same purpose; and every art and every method were practised, in order to effect a change of the public opinion, respecting the glory of his measures, the honour of his character, and the purity of his conduct.

The King's faction were perfectly sensible that the confidence of the nation had been reposed in Mr. *Pitt*, and they deprecated, by this criminal industry, his return to power. They dreaded nothing so much as a disposition in the people, similar to that shewn in the year 1757, when the public voice obliged the late King to receive him. And it is certain that they succeeded so far as to occasion a temporary diminution of his character in

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the public esteem. Mr. Pitt himself was so thoroughly convinced of this truth, that he thought it necessary to state the cause of his resignation in the following letter to the town-clerk of the city of London:

Mr. Pitt's
letter to the
city of Lon-
don.

“ Dear Sir,
“ Finding, to my great surprise, that the cause and manner of my resigning the seals is grossly misrepresented in the city, as well as that the most gracious and spontaneous marks of his Majesty’s approbation of my services, which marks followed my resignation, have been infamously traduced; as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under a necessity of declaring the truth of both these facts in a manner which I am sure no gentleman will contradict: A difference of opinion with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests, and this founded on what Spain had already done*, not on what that court may farther intend to do, was the cause of my resigning

* *What Spain had already done.*] At this distance of time these words may require a little explanation. Besides the Family

signing the seals. Lord *Temple* and I submitted in writing. and signed by us, our most
 humble

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Family Compact, which was Mr. *Pitt's* principal object, there were the following facts :

A Memorial of Mr. *Pitt's*, in the name of the King of Great Britain, had been returned by the Spanish minister at Madrid as *wholly inadmissible*. This Memorial Mr. *Pitt* wished to have had laid before Parliament ; because having made, he said, the conduct of Spain, in this instance, the *precedent* for his refusal of the Spanish Memorial offered by M. *Buffy*, he thought both the *matter* and the *expression* of the British Memorial ought to be made known. Mr. *Pitt's* successors in office, however, put a negative upon his wishes.

And besides the points* in dispute between the two courts, there were the following reprehensible proceedings on the part of Spain :

At St. Lucar, about seven leagues from Cadiz, there were, in 1757, eleven sail of English ships in that harbour, which sailed with Spanish pilots, and at the mouth of the river, between the two necks of land, and in shoal water, they were followed by a French privateer. They were all taken, and brought back into that port. Sir *Benjamin Keene*, our ambassador at that time at Madrid, remonstrated very strongly upon this subject, but to no purpose; they were deemed good prizes, though taken close to the land, in shoal water.

The affair of the Antigallican and her prize the Duc de Penthièvre is well known.

In the beginning of the year 1759, the Experiment (a King's ship) was chased off the coast of Spain, by the *Telemachus*, a large French privateer, double the force of the

* These points were three in number. They are given in the private Memorial of France, dated July 15, 1761; which see in the Appendix H.

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humble sentiments to his Majesty, which being over-ruled by the united opinion of all the

Experiment; but the British captain not chusing to suffer the disgrace, engaged the Frenchman, and at length took him. The victor then stood for the Spanish coast, when he sent his boat with his master and four men ashore, to land some of the prisoners, and bring off some necessaries. The boat was immediately detained, and the officer and crew thrown into prison, the governor alleging that the French ship was an illegal capture, though she came off from the land where she lay at anchor, and pursued the Experiment. And orders were sent to all the Spanish ports to detain the Experiment if she put into any of them.

About June 1760, the *Saltash* sloop of war chased on shore a French row-boat, a few leagues to the eastward of Almeria Bay, and some time after she took a French row-boat off Mahon, and put a midshipman and fourteen men on board, and some time in the following month came to anchor in that bay. The Spaniards detained her, and made the men prisoners; upon which, the captain of the *Saltash*, finding his prize not come out, sent his boat, with the master and five men, to know the reason; who, on coming ashore, were threatened by the Spanish soldiers to be fired at unless they hauled their boat ashore to a port a quarter of a mile from thence, which they refused to do, insisting, as British subjects, they had a right to Spanish protection; whereupon they seized the boat's crew, as well as the prize, and put them in the common prison, where the master was struck and abused by the soldiers, and all the rest used with great cruelty, and refused the use of pen, ink, and paper. The *Saltash* was never able to get her men, to the number of 19. The Spaniards sent the master of a Catalan bark to prison, for carrying a message from one of the prisoners to Gibraltar.

In

the rest of the King's servants, I resigned the seals on Monday the 5th of this month, in order

In 1761 the *Speedwell* cutter, commanded by Lieutenant *Allen*, was chased into the harbour of Vigo, by the *Achilles*, a French man of war, and there made a prize of by her. Mr. *Allen* was tried at Spithead for losing his Majesty's cutter, and was honourably acquitted; but the court declared their opinion that she was an illegal prize, and taken contrary to the law of nations.

In Cadiz there were many French privateers manned and fitted out by Spaniards, built under the windows of the governor's house, where they lay; and in his sight, when any English vessel sailed out of the harbour, would follow instantly, and bring her in; though, on the contrary, if any French ship should sail out, no English ship of war dared to follow her, or sail out of the harbour in less than 24 hours; and the garrison guns were always ready to protect a French ship.

In the harbour of Vigo, in May 1761, there were upwards of thirty French row-boats, in which thirty boats there were not above thirty Frenchmen, one in each boat, and the rest of the crews all Spaniards, and these fitted out by the Spaniards there, and at St. John de Luz.

At Cabaretta, a small town on the Spanish coast, in the Gut of Gibraltar, where there is a castle and some few guns, there was always a fleet of French row-boats at anchor under those guns, with not one Frenchman on board, mostly Spaniards and Genoese, but fitted out by Spaniards, who, in a piratical manner, watched and seized all English vessels which passed without a convoy, or happened to be becalmed. This was very detrimental to the garrison of Gibraltar, as many of those vessels were bound from Ireland, &c. with provisions.

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order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide.— Most gracious public marks of his Majesty's approbation of my services followed my resignation. They are unmerited, and *unsolicited*; and I shall ever be proud to have received them from the best of Sovereigns.

“ I will now only add, my dear Sir, that I have explained these matters only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who with a credulity, as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success; and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it, little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind

About two months before Mr. Pitt resigned, Mr. R——, an eminent ship-builder in the King of Spain's service, quitted Spain, and returned to England. He knew authentically and exactly the force and condition of every ship and vessel belonging to the King of Spain. Mr. Pitt saw him several times immediately after his arrival, and placed a proper value upon his information.

friend-

friendship, and believe me ever with truth and esteem,

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“ My dear Sir,

Hayes,

“ Your faithful Friend,

O^r. 15, 1761.

“ W. PITT.”

A little time after Mr. *Pitt*'s resignation, the ministry received a dispatch from Lord *Bristol* at Madrid, containing the following interesting information :

“ *Escurial*, Nov. 2, 1761.

“ Two ships have lately arrived at Cadiz,
“ with very extraordinary rich cargoes, from
“ the West Indies; *so that ALL the wealth*
“ *that was expected from Spanish America is*
“ *now safe in Old Spain* *.”

The triumphs of the courts of London and Madrid over Mr. *Pitt* were now complete :—
The first, in having compelled him to relinquish the direction of a war, by which he had nearly crushed one branch of the House of Bourbon, and was ready to pour its thunders

* See other Extracts from the Spanish papers, with some explanatory notes, in the Appendix I.

upon

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upon another : The latter, in having supported the designs of his enemies, until that immense wealth was arrived, which they knew he meant to have intercepted ; and which, had he been permitted to accomplish, he must, by a success of such immense importance, at the beginning of the war, have speedily reduced Spain to the necessity of deprecating the rage of so potent and active an enemy.— But to those few persons who were not duped by the artifices of the King's confidential servants, nor deceived by the hired writers of foreign and domestic enemies, these triumphs over a great minister were matters of the most sincere concern, regret, and anguish.

Mr. Pitt
applauded
in the city.

In a few weeks, however, the public prejudice began to dissipate. When he went into the city on the ensuing Lord Mayor's day, he was honoured in all the streets through which he passed, with unbounded marks of applause. The King and Queen honoured the city feast with their presence (according to custom, on the first Lord Mayor's day after their coronation); and the courtiers said his Majesty betrayed some signs of disapprobation, that the applause given to

Mr.

Mr. *Pitt* was greater than that shewn to himself.

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This approbation was, for a little time, confined to the metropolis; but soon afterwards several cities and great towns presented complimentary addresses to him—thanking him for his important services, and lamenting the cause of his resignation. [See Appendix N. N.]

Whatever doubts might have remained on the minds of men whose residences were remote from the source of information, respecting the propriety of Mr. *Pitt*'s conduct relative to Spain, they were all dispelled by the declaration of war against that power, which Mr. *Pitt*'s successors found themselves under the necessity of issuing on the second day of January 1762, although they postponed that important measure until the insults of the Spanish court had become so notorious that even Lord *Bute* confessed they could be no longer concealed,

Thus came by constraint, and without dignity, and what is worse than both, above
three

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three months after the opportunity had elapsed, that declaration of war, sneaking, and as it were by stealth, which Mr. *Pitt* would have issued with eclat in the month of September last.

EPITOME

OF

MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION.

MDCCLVII.

Epitome of
Mr. Pitt's
administra-
tion.

THE Hanoverians and Hessians were sent home, and a well-regulated militia established; by which the enemy saw that we were so far from wanting foreign troops to protect us, that we could afford to send the national troops abroad.

The foundations were laid of the subsequent conquests.

Fleets and armies were sent to Asia, Africa, and America.

MDCCLVIII.

MDCCLVIII.

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Shipping destroyed at St. Malo.

Baton and shipping destroyed at Cherbourg.

Emden recovered from the French.

Senegal taken.

Louisbourg, and the isles of Cape Breton and St. John's, taken.

Fort Frontenac taken.

Fort Du Quesne taken.

Fort and island of Goree taken.

Massulipatam taken.

D'Ache's fleet defeated.

French army defeated at Crevelt.

French fleet under *Du Quesne* taken by admiral *Osborne*.

French fleet drove ashore at Rochefort, by Sir *Edward Hawke*.

MDCCLIX.

Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, &c. taken.

Siege of Madras raised.

Surat taken.

Niagara taken.

Shipping destroyed at Havre.

French fleet under *De la Clue* taken by admiral *Boscawen*.

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Ticonderoga taken.

Crown Point taken.

Quebec taken.

Complete defeat of the French fleet in Quiberon Bay.

French army defeated at Minden.

MDCCLX.

Tburot killed, and his three frigates taken.

French army defeated at Warburgh.

Montreal taken, and all Canada.

Frigates, stages, and stores destroyed in Chaleur Bay.

Dumet taken.

Dominique taken.

MDCCLXI.

Pondicherry taken, and all the French power in India destroyed.

Belleisle taken.

French army defeated at Fellinghausen.

MDCCLXII.

Martinico taken, and with it the islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent. And

The Havannah taken; though after Mr. *Pitt's* resignation, yet in consequence of his plans.

To these conquests must be added the annihilation of the French marine, commerce, and credit;

credit ; the loss to France of the following ships of war, which composed nine-tenths of her royal navy :

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FRENCH KING'S SHIPS TAKEN OR DESTROYED.

Forty-four of the line, viz.—Four of 84; eleven of 74; two of 70; seventeen of 64; two of 60; two of 56; one of 54; and five of 50.

Sixty-one frigates, viz.—Four of 44; two of 40; eighteen of 36; two of 34; fifteen of 32; one of 30; one of 28; two of 26; eight of 24; two of 22; six of 20.

Twenty-six sloops of war, viz.—One of 18; nine of 16; six of 14; two of 12; one of 10; seven of 8.

Besides the advantages derived from all these conquests and captures, Mr. *Pitt* left the late thirteen British colonies in North America in perfect security and happiness; every inhabitant there glowing with the warmest affection to the parent country. At home all was animation and industry. Riches and glory flowed in from every quarter.

“ Gods! what a golden scene was this,

“ Of public fame, of private bliss*.”

* Ode by H. Seymour, Esq. late M. P. for Evesham.

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SITUATION OF GREAT BRITAIN.—FARTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING MR. PITT'S RESIGNATION.—AND THE PRINCESSES OF BRUNSWICK.—UNION OF LORD BUTE WITH LORD BATH AND MR. FOX.—MR. GRENVILLE WISHES TO BE MADE SPEAKER.—MR. PITT DESIRES ALL THE PAPERS, RELATIVE TO SPAIN TO BE LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT.—HE SUPPORTS THE MOTION OF A SUPPLY FOR PORTUGAL.—REGARDS MEASURES MORE THAN MEN.—LORD TYRAWLEY SENT TO LISBON.—JEALOUSY OF THE COMMERCIAL INTEREST.

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Situation of
Great Britain.

THE situation of Great Britain, at the end of Mr. *Pitt's* administration, might not be improperly compared to that of Rome at the end of the commonwealth. The Roman empire extended from Britain to Media; and the British dominions included North America, and a great part of the Mogul empire, with many islands and colonies in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia.—Both empires, at these periods, were in their zenith; and from these periods both empires declined in virtue, and diminished in extent. The principal differences hitherto have been, that the servility of the British senate has exceeded

ceeded that of the Roman; and the diminution of the British empire has been more rapid.

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We have seen the end of this great man's brilliancy as a minister. We are now to view him in the character of a single member of the legislature; dignified indeed by reputation, but accompanied by no influence, nor followed by one individual of that obsequious crowd of representatives, who had lately given him unlimited confidence and unbounded praise. This sudden, but not surprising change of opinion, in the representatives of the nation, was occasioned by no alteration in his sentiments or principles, no relaxation of his promptitude or vigour, no impeachment of his conduct, his judgment, or his virtue; nor was it to be ascribed to the usual versatility of mankind, particularly the natives of Great Britain, whose ruling passion is *novelty*; but it is to be attributed entirely, and exclusively, to the influence of corruption, to the avarice and vanity of such men as are always eager to pay homage to the distributor of rewards, whoever he may be, of whatever nation, or of whatever complexion.

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The management of the House of Commons is become so perfectly mechanical, that it requires only a small knowledge of the principles of the machine, to be able to transfer the majority at almost any time, from the most able statesman to the favourite of the crown, or the confident of the enemy, who may have no other recommendation than the smiles of the first, or the money of the last, with the same facility that an India bond, or any other negotiable property, is transferred every day.

These observations may seem illiberal to the inexperienced, because they are unfavourable to the admirers of national glory. It is the misfortune of *Truth* to be often disagreeable; the ancients very wisely painted her naked, to signify that those who were her enemies were the enemies of nature; and the dignitaries of the church call her the daughter of God. Notwithstanding this confirmed state of modern depravity, *Truth* will continue to have her worshippers; and it may be presumed that they will, in the present age, as they have in former ages, survive the advocates of Corruption and Falsehood. It is to them

them only that impartial History can address herself—from them only she can expect protection. The betrayer of his country, and the destroyer of public liberty, whether supported by a Commodus, or protected by a Faustina, may endeavour, by the assistance of the slavish instruments of law, to intimidate and to strangle her voice; but conscious that she has *Truth* for her shield, she ventures upon a task that will give a new complexion to the public events of one of the most interesting periods in the annals of Great Britain.

Mr. *Pitt's* first care after his resignation, was the diminution of his household. Amongst his other retrenchments were his coach-horses, which were sold by public advertisement in his own name. His enemies stigmatized this circumstance with the appellations of parade and ostentation; his friends denominated the whole measure prudence and œconomy. Certain it is, that he had not, like many of his predecessors, amassed a fortune in his late situation. He retired from office an indigent man, with little more than his annuity for his support. From all his places he acquired no possessions. The legacy of

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ten thousand pounds left him by the Duchess of *Marlborough*, already mentioned in Chap. V. had amply supplied his pecuniary wants, released him from all dependence on his family and friends, and while it emancipated him from the terrors of obligation, it inspired him with that spirit of independence which may be said to have first kindled that blaze which adorned the remainder of his life. During his stay in office he had no liegees; he dedicated his whole time to the duties of his station.

His successor was the Earl of *Egremont*, who was recommended to Lord *Bute* by the Earl of *Bath*. Upon the accession of *George III.* Lord *Bath* made a tender of his services, which although not accepted publicly, his advice was received *privately* by Lord *Bute*.

But Lord *Bute*'s principal adviser, and manager of the House of Commons, was Mr. *Fox*. The circumstance which caused the first advances to an union between them, was the arrival of the two Princesses of *Brunswick*, already mentioned in Chapters XIII. and XIX. That affair had been originally
sug-

suggested by the Duchess their mother, sister to the then King of Prussia, whom she had solicited to recommend it to *George* the Second, when at Hanover, in the month of July 1755.

The project had certainly the approbation of Mr. *Pitt* at that time, but he warmly disapproved of the *resolution* to accomplish it against the pressing intreaties of the Princess of *Wales**; who *secretly* wished for an alliance with

* Lord *Melcombe*, in his Diary, mentions this affair in these words :

“ She [*meaning the Princess of Wales*] told me that the King had sent to invite the two Princesses of *Brunswick*. They came, but their mother, the King of Prussia’s sister, who was not invited, came with them : We talked of the match ; surely he would not marry her son without acquainting her with it, so much as by letter. I said certainly not, as he had always behaved very politely to her. It may be so, she replied, but how can this be reconciled ? In this manner, said I : Nothing will be settled at Hanover, but when the King comes back he may say, in conversation, and commending the Prince’s figure, that he wishes to see him settled before he dies, and that he has seen such and such Princesses ; and though he would settle nothing without her participation, yet he could wish to see the Prince settled before his death, and therefore, if she had no objection, he should think one of those Princesses a very suitable party.

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with one of her own family. Mr. *Pitt's* and Lord *Temple's* opposition to the resolution of force, was one principal cause of the design being relinquished. Lord *Bute* supported the

“ She paused, and said, No ; he was not that sort of man : But if he should settle the match without acquainting her with it, she should let him know how ill she took it ; and if he did it in the manner I mentioned, she should not fail to tell him fairly and plainly that it was full early She was determined to behave so whenever the King spoke to her about it. She thought the match premature : The Prince ought to mix with the world ; the marriage would prevent it ; he was shy and backward ; the marriage would shut him up for ever, with two or three friends of his, and as many of hers. That he was much averse to it himself, and that she disliked the alliance extremely : That the young woman was said to be handsome, and had all good qualities and abundance of wit, &c. but if she took after her mother she would never do here— The Duke of *Brunswick* indeed, her father, is a very worthy man. Pray Madam, said I, what is her mother, as I know nothing at all about her. Why, said she, her mother is the most intriguing, meddling, and also the most satirical sarcastical person in the world, and will always make mischief wherever she comes. Such a character would not do with *George* : It would not only hurt him in his public, but make him uneasy in his private situation ; that he was not a wild, dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole ; that those about him knew him no more than if they had never seen him. That he was not quick ; but with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent. His education had given her much pain ; his book learning she was no judge of, though she supposed it small or useless.”—*Edm.* 1784. p. 354, &c.

Prin-

Princess in all points; and Mr. *Fox* was ready to put his negative on *all** continental alliances; against the Princesses of *Brunswick*; therefore they were perfectly united. The resignation of the Duke of *Cumberland*, which happened in a little more than a year afterwards, the ascendancy of Mr. *Pitt* in the closet, and other circumstances, drew Mr. *Fox* every year into a closer connexion with Lord *Bute*. He doubtless saw, that his future rise in the state must be obtained by his interest in the Prince's court. Upon the accession of *George III.* we accordingly find that Lord *Bute*, who was totally inexperienced in the wide field of politics, takes Mr. *Fox* for his principal adviser, not upon the principles of government, for upon them they often differed; but in the gratifications of resentment, and in the arrangements of men. Lord *Bute*'s other chief adviser was Lord *Bath*, whose enmity was principally directed against the Duke of *Newcastle* and his friends, as Mr. *Fox*'s was against Mr. *Pitt* and his friends. By these advisers Lord *Bute* was.

* Some persons imagined that Mr. *Fox* did not look unfavourably on a *supposed* attention to a lady of the noble family to which he was allied.

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instructed to break all great connections, and to annihilate all popular influence. The court adopted these measures with a view to increase the power of the crown, and give to the King an uncontrolled exercise of his prerogative, under the direction of his private favour.

Mr. Grenville wishes to be made Speaker.

When it was known that Mr. *Legge* was to be turned out, Mr. *Grenville* expressed to his brothers his desire to succeed Mr. *Legge*; but Mr. *Pitt* took no notice of his wishes; upon which a coolness commenced between them. This disappointment occasioned Mr. *Grenville* to direct his attention to another interest. Mr. *Onslow* having resigned the chair of the House of Commons, Mr. *Grenville* solicited to succeed to that vacancy. He was at this time treasurer of the navy, and had been in that post about seven years, and in other places. He waited upon the Duke of *Newcastle*, who being still first lord of the treasury, was nominally minister. The Duke asked him if he had mentioned the matter to Lord *Bute*. Mr. *Grenville* owned he had; and added, that he had not only the King's approbation, with his Majesty's gracious assurance of the cabinet, but

but the approbation likewise of all his own family. The last part of this assurance was undoubtedly a mistake, for the Duke of *Newcastle* was the first person who informed Lord *Temple* of Mr. *Grenville*'s overtures. Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* were exceedingly offended with their brother for having made an application to Lord *Bute* without first communicating his intention to either of them.—From this moment Mr. *Grenville* separated himself from all his family; and there subsisted the most bitter animosity between them until the month of May 1765. During that period Mr. *Grenville* attached himself first to Lord *Bute* and afterwards to the Duke of *Bedford*.

On the 6th of November 1761, the new Parliament met*. Mr. *Fox* had, at this time, obtained the situation he was so desirous of possessing in the late reign, viz. the management of the House of Commons. No man was better qualified for this important trust. He was liberal in his promises, and

* Mr. *Pitt* was re-elected for the city of Bath, upon the invitation of the corporation. See Appendix N.

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honourable in the performance of them. We may judge of his means by the facts respecting the civil list only. When Mr. *Pitt* resigned (October 1761), the King's revenue not only stood clear of all incumbrances, but there was a balance in the exchequer due to the crown, of between one hundred and thirty and one hundred and forty thousand pounds. When Lord *Bute* and Mr. *Fox* resigned*, which was in April 1763, the balance in the exchequer was not only expended, but the outgoings upon the establishment of the civil list exceeded the income, to the amount of upwards of ninety thousand pounds *per annum*.

Motion for
the Spanish
papers.

On the 11th of December 1761, a motion was made in the House of Commons, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before the House copies of all the Memorials delivered by Count *Fuentes* to his Majesty's ministers, relating to the demand of liberty to the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and

* Mr. *Fox* did not resign the pay-office, but only the management of the House of Commons. Mr. *Grenville* succeeded him in the last department.

also copies of all Memorials delivered by the said ambassador of Spain to his Majesty's ministers, relating to the destruction and evacuation of any establishments made by British subjects on the coasts of Honduras, and relating to the right of cutting logwood there; and also copies of all Memorials delivered by the said ambassador to his Majesty's ministers, demanding restitution of the prizes taken during this war on the subjects of Spain; together with copies of the answers given by the court of Great Britain to the court of Spain on the three above demands."

Mr. *Pitt* supported this motion. ' He Mr. Pitt.
' did not wish, he said, that any part of his
' conduct should be covered or concealed from
' the public. On the contrary, he declared
' it to be his wish and his ardent desire to see
' laid open and revealed both the motives and
' actions of every part of his administration.
' He therefore pressed with zeal the laying be-
' fore the House every paper relative to the
' six years negotiation with Spain, that the
' justice and candour of the crown of England
' on the one hand, and the chicanery, info-
' lence, and perfidy of Spain on the other,
' might

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‘ might be made apparent to the whole House.’
[This appeal to so much written evidence spoke the strongest language of conscious integrity.] ‘ Much stress, he added, had been laid without doors, on his refusing to receive the Memorial offered by M. *Buffy*, relative to the concerns of Spain. In refusing that Memorial, he said, he had followed the *precedent* of the court of Spain, which had returned, as inadmissible, a Memorial of the King of Great Britain. He thought it was of consequence to the House to know both the *matter* and the *expression* of that Memorial, as it related to one of the three points in negotiation.’

But upon calling for the question, a negative was put upon the motion.

The debate being over, Mr. *Fox* stood up, and said, ‘ That if any particular paper necessary to the vindication of certain persons, was specifically moved for, it would be given.’

‘ Mr. *Pitt* treated this as a captious offer; he saw through its fallacy, and refused to accept

‘ accept it. What he earnestly wished for
 ‘ was *all* the papers relative to the six years
 ‘ negotiation, which having been refused, he
 ‘ said the gentleman who made the offer very
 ‘ well knew that he (Mr. Pitt) *could not mark*
 ‘ *out*, nor call in a Parliamentary way, for a
 ‘ *specific paper*, with the contents of which he
 ‘ had been intrusted before by the King,
 ‘ *under the seal of secrecy.*’

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Mr. Pitt took no farther part in the debates of this session until the month of May 1762, when the King sent a message to the House of Commons, informing them of the design of Spain to attack Portugal, soliciting their support of his Most Faithful Majesty. On the 13th the House, in a committee of supply, voted one million for that service.

‘ Mr. Pitt, though not in the King’s ser-
 ‘ vice, supported the resolution of the com-
 ‘ mittee of supply. He began with pointing
 ‘ out the necessity of continuing the war in
 ‘ Germany, and of supporting the King of
 ‘ Portugal. He observed that, in times of
 ‘ war, connexions with the continent had al-
 ‘ ways been found political, except in the
 ‘ four

Portugal.

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four unhappy reigns of the *Stuarts*. Then
 turning about to several persons, he very
 jocularly said, " You who are for conti-
 nental measures, I am with you ; and you
 who are for assisting the King of Portugal,
 I am with you ; and you who are for put-
 ting an end to the war, I am with you
 also ; in short, I am the only man to be
 found that am with you all " He then
 enumerated the successes that attended the
 British arms in all parts of the world, and
 the immense advantages gained in our trade,
 which, he said, would more than compen-
 sate the great expence we had been at ; and
 which, he observed, was a consideration
 that had been overlooked by those who
 were complaining of the burden of the war.
 And in regard to contracting the expences,
 he entirely agreed with those who were for
 it ; and urged, that whoever should effect
 this salutary work, would deserve the highest
 encomiums ; but he hoped a distinction
 would be made between contracting the ex-
 pence, and contracting the operations of the
 war, and desired any one present to shew
 how the latter could have been, or might
 still be done, with safety. He then re-
 marked,

marked, that he did not find any less expence attended the nation now, than when he unworthily held the seals, or that more was done. And turning to the Marquis of *Granby*, he observed, that he knew his zeal for the service of his country was such, that if he had received his orders he was sure he would not then be where he was. And as to what the noble Lord * had said, no one doubted his capacity, if his heart was but as good; that as for his own part he could not tell the reason of the continental expences being greater now than in Queen *Anne's* time, unless it was because provender and every thing else in Germany was dearer now than then; and wished the noble Lord had explained that part of his speech, for he did not properly know what to make of it; it carried a something, a suspicion he did not understand! But if he meant that there had not been fair play with the money, he knew nothing of it; and then stretching out his hand, and moving his fingers, said they were clean, there was none of it stuck to them, and that he would second any person

* Lord George Sackville, to whose speech this was a reply.

‘ who

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' who should move for an inquiry into the
 ' money matters; he was anxious to know
 ' how it was appropriated, that the whole
 ' truth might come out. He observed, that
 ' the noble Lord had said, he bled for his
 ' country, and he did not wonder at it; that
 ' it was his opinion he ought to throw his
 ' body at his Majesty's feet, and there bleed
 ' at every pore. He then represented, that
 ' in consequence of our withdrawing our
 ' troops from Germany, Portugal and the
 ' Low Countries might become a prey to the
 ' French and Spaniards; that in point of po-
 ' licy we ought not to suffer it; but that he
 ' did not mean to bear Portugal on our
 ' shoulders, but only to set him on his legs,
 ' and put a sword in his hand. He affirmed,
 ' that France was almost a ruined nation, hav-
 ' ing expended, in the last year, upwards of
 ' eight millions, and had been still losing;
 ' that he knew the finances of France as well
 ' as any man in England, and that we, by
 ' our successes, were repaid for our expence;
 ' that it was wrong and unjust to represent
 ' Great Britain in so deplorable a state as un-
 ' able to carry on the war, for there were al-
 ' ways strangers in the gallery, who wrote to
 ' their

‘ their friends in Holland an account of what
 ‘ passed in that place (and the Dutch for-
 ‘ warded it to the French); that it was well
 ‘ known England never was better able to
 ‘ support a war than at present; that the
 ‘ money for this year was raised, and he
 ‘ would answer for it, if we wanted fifteen
 ‘ or twenty millions for next year, we might
 ‘ have it. He therefore strongly recom-
 ‘ mended the million as desired; that he
 ‘ knew the cry which had been propagated
 ‘ for these three years, You won’t be able to
 ‘ raise money to continue the war another
 ‘ year; and yet we all saw the contrary. He
 ‘ affirmed that one campaign might have
 ‘ finished the war (alluding to his own pro-
 ‘ posal of declaring war against Spain); and
 ‘ in answer to the gentleman * who had said
 ‘ that the complaints of the Portuguese mer-
 ‘ chants had not been attended to, he insisted,
 ‘ that, so far from it, he had spent many nights
 ‘ in considering them, and referred that gen-
 ‘ tleman to what had passed between him and
 ‘ the ambassador of the court of Portugal; but
 ‘ those complaints, and the interests of the

* Mr. Glover.

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‘ merchants, he said, had been abandoned
 ‘ ever since the period that he had been com-
 ‘ pelled to abandon his official situation. He
 ‘ then recommended union and harmony to
 ‘ the ministry, and declared against alterca-
 ‘ tion, which was no way to carry on the
 ‘ public business; and urged the necessity of
 ‘ prosecuting the war with vigour, as the
 ‘ only way to obtain an honourable, solid,
 ‘ and lasting peace; and proved, from the
 ‘ readiness with which supplies had been
 ‘ granted, there would be little danger of a
 ‘ stop on that account, so long as the money
 ‘ was properly applied, and attended with
 ‘ success. He said he wished to save Portu-
 ‘ gal, not by an ill-timed and penurious, but
 ‘ by a most efficacious and adequate assistance.’

Mr. Pitt's
 parliamentary
 principle.

It is obvious from this speech in particular, as well as from the uniform tenor of Mr. Pitt's parliamentary conduct, that he was a constant advocate for all those public measures which had the national honour and prosperity for their object, without regarding the man or the party who brought them forward. If this had not been his ruling principle, it will not be supposed that he would have supported
 that

that very ministry who had so lately turned him out, in their first essential measure concerning the war.

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The session closed on the second of June 1762.

The defence of Portugal was undertaken, without making any stipulations in behalf of our merchants, which the opportunity so amply afforded, and who had presented severally Memorials to the courts of London and Lisbon, complaining of the injustice of the last. So far from taking the least notice of these complaints, Lord *Tyrrawley* was sent to Lisbon, in the character of ambassador.—

Lord Tyr-
rawley sent
to Lisbon.

He was, perhaps, the only gentleman in the British dominions to whom that court, at another time, would have made an exception. At this moment the court of Lisbon was under the necessity of being silent. Upon a former occasion Lord *Tyrrawley* had rendered himself particularly offensive at Lisbon; and he seems to have been selected on this occasion, certainly not from motives of friendship to that court, although it was the most favourable period for establishing every neces-

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Jealousy of
the com-
mercial in-
terest.

fary commercial stipulation with clearness and precision. But it was the system of the new ministry to humble and weaken the commercial energy of the nation; from a jealousy that such energy might rival or become dangerous to the aristocracy, and in time become a check to the increasing influence and power of the crown. It is the pervading principle of most of the German governments, the more enslaved are the people, the more powerful is the Prince.

C H A P. XXII.

RESOLUTION OF THE BRITISH CABINET TO MAKE PEACE.

—SUBSIDY TO PRUSSIA REFUSED.—NEGOTIATION WITH THE COURT OF PETERSBURGH, AND WITH THE COURT OF VIENNA.—BOTH MADE KNOWN TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.—NEGOTIATION WITH THE COURT OF TURIN.—ANECDOTE OF THE PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE.—PENSION GRANTED TO THE SARDINIAN MINISTER.—PRIVY PURSE AND SECRET SERVICE.—ALTERATIONS IN THE BRITISH MINISTRY.—LORD BUTE MINISTER.—HIS BROTHER AT COURT.—INTERESTING PARTICULARS OF THE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.—LORD BUTE'S WEALTH.—EXAMINATION OF DR. MUSGRAVE.—UNION OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AND MR. GRENVILLE.—DISMISSION OF THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.—ANECDOTE OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE AND LORD GRANVILLE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the British arms continued successful in every quarter of the world, yet it was the firm and unalterable resolution of the British cabinet, to make peace with the utmost expedition. By the extraordinary use which ministers had made of the press, already mentioned in Chap. XIX. the people of England became divided in opinion on the subject of continuing the war. The Scottish nation were nearly unanimous in support of Lord *Bute*. The British cabinet

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of the British
cabinet
to make
peace.

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were influenced by the same principles, and probably by the same means, which governed the Tory cabinet of Queen *Anne*, at the time of making the peace of Utrecht.

The first consideration of the noble Lord who now guided the King's counsels, was to reduce the King of Prussia to the necessity of concurring in his pacific system. For this purpose the subsidy which, according to treaty, had been annually paid to Prussia, was this year refused, contrary to the most solemn engagements, and in direct breach of the national faith; not indeed by an open and manly negative in the first instance, but after an infinite number of promises of the money, and evasive answers to the Prussian resident in London, from the month of January to the month of May 1762. The cruelty of this sport in the British minister was embittered by the perilous situation of the King, surrounded by hosts of enemies, and disappointed of the only assistance he had a right to estimate in his preparations for the campaign. However, his good fortune did not abandon him; for in the same moment that Great Britain became his enemy, Russia be-

became his friend. The Empress *Elizabeth* died, and the Emperor, *Peter* III. immediately withdrew from the alliance against him; so that the design of the British cabinet, in the refusal of the subsidy, was not accomplished. But though not accomplished, it was not abandoned: As soon as it was known in London that the Emperor, *Peter* III. was preparing to withdraw himself from the alliance against the King of Prussia, the British cabinet immediately opened a negotiation with the court of Petersburg, to prevent, if possible, a separate peace being made between the new Emperor and the King of Prussia.— In this negotiation it was insinuated to the court of Petersburg, in very strong terms, that the British court would behold with great concern his Imperial Majesty withdrawing from his alliance with the Empress Queen, and recalling his armies from their co-operation with the troops of the House of Austria; that it was not the wish of the British court to see the House of Brandenburg aggrandized at the expence of the House of Austria.

Negotiation
with the
court of Pe-
tersburgh;

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and with
the court of
Vienna.

And from an apprehension that this negotiation might not be sufficient to answer the purpose, the plan of another negotiation was formed; and the execution attempted by the most humiliating introduction. This was with the court of Vienna. To that haughty court offers in the utmost degree degrading on the part of Great Britain were made. A renewal of the connexion between that court and Great Britain was solicited in terms of supplication. The most earnest assurances were made, that the British cabinet never desired to see the power of Prussia increased by a diminution of the House of Austria; that on the contrary the British cabinet would rather see the power of Prussia revert to its primitive electoral state. And to prevent any suspicion of dissimulation, this proposed alliance between Great Britain and Austria was further offered to be purchased, by some *concessions* to be made in Italy, or *elsewhere*. The British court, at this time, had no authority to stipulate for any concessions to be made in Italy, in behalf of the House of Austria; consequently the word *elsewhere*, a word of unlimited latitude, must have been meant to include

clude any country or territory to which the British influence either did, or could extend. And if we reflect but an instant on the disposition of the British cabinet at this time towards the King of Prussia, there can be no doubt that this word was intended to apply to some part of the dominions of that Prince.

These acts of proffered treachery were treated with contempt. The court of Vienna communicated them to the court of Peterburgh; and by the last court, all the documents of both negotiations were communicated to the King of Prussia, which explains the cause of that coolness which subsisted between that Monarch and the court of Great Britain, until within a short time of his death.

Both made known to the King of Prussia.

A third negotiation, which was opened with the court of Turin, was more successful; soliciting the interest of that court with the House of Bourbon, to repose the most firm confidence in the pacific disposition of the British cabinet; at the same time imploring his Sardinian Majesty to become the mediator and umpire in all points of dispute. This

Negotiation with the court of Turin.

was

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was the *second* time that the House of Savoy had been authorised to dispose of the interests of Great Britain to the House of Bourbon. The first time was at the peace of Aix la Chapelle, which not being mentioned by the writers of the time, the reader will find it stated in the note *. And of the present negotiation,

* At the battle of Laffelt, Lord *Ligonier* being made prisoner, was introduced to the French King as soon as the action was over. The King said to him, *Hé bien, Monsieur de Ligonier, quand est ce que le Roy votre maître nous donnera la paix?* and at the same time commanded Marshal *Saxe* and the Duke de *Noailles* to confer with him next day upon the subject, which they did, and assured him that his Majesty's orders were, that he should be sent back to the Duke of *Cam-berland*, upon his parole, with the following proposal of peace: That the King was ready to make peace upon these terms: That France would acknowledge the Emperor, and restore all Flanders, except Furnes, in case England insisted on the demolition of Dunkirk; but if England permitted Dunkirk to continue in its present state, France would restore Furnes also: That England should restore the fort and island of *Louifbourg*; and the Empress Queen and King of Sardinia should make an establishment for Don *Philip*, which his Majesty did not require to be very splendid. The proposal was debated in the British cabinet several times, and the cabinet divided upon it. Dr. *Maty* gives some hints of this matter in section V. of his *Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield*, but he does not seem to have been fully informed. At length the Sardinian minister in London prevailed upon the Duke of *Newcastle* and Mr. *Pelham* to reject the proposal, under a pretence that it was in-

com-

tion, Lord *Chatham* said, in the House of Lords, on the second of March 1770, "That the court of Turin *sold* this country to France in the last peace." If we admit this assertion to have been well-founded, and there is no reason to doubt it, the court of Turin received

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compatible with the treaty of Worms. Whoever will be at the trouble of comparing these terms with the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, will instantly perceive that they were infinitely more advantageous to Great Britain than the articles of that treaty.

But there was another circumstance, which marked this influence of the court of Turin more strongly: This was the negotiation for peace that was attempted to be opened on the part of the court of Madrid, by *M. Wall*, who came through the *Pays Bas* to London, with Marshal *Saxe's* passport for that purpose. He had several conferences with the British ministry on the subject; but when he began to enter upon that part which related to an establishment for Don *Philip*, he was told that it was expected that Spain should consent to the King of Sardinia's keeping Final, Vigevanasco, part of Pavia and Anghiera, with the free navigation of the *Thesin*. To this proposal *M. Wall* refused to give his promise; upon which the negotiation broke off, and *M. Wall* returned to Madrid. And though these very terms were obtained for the King of Sardinia by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, yet as the conditions of that treaty were not so favourable to Great Britain as the terms which had been offered to Lord *Ligonier*, there can be little doubt of the British interests having been sacrificed, to secure these points for his Sardinian Majesty, who had moreover a subsidy from England of 200,000*l.* *per annum* by the treaty of Worms.

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favours from *both* sides. The British court were very liberal in the rewards they gave; amongst others, the Sardinian ambassador, in particular, was gratified with a pension of one thousand pounds *per annum* upon Ireland for thirty-one years, commencing the 25th of March 1763, in the name of *George Charles Esq.**

The

* This fact was first mentioned in the House of Commons of Ireland, by Mr. *Edmund Sexton Pery*, now Lord *Pery*, on the 24th of November 1763, in these words:

“ I shall communicate a fact to this House, from which it will appear that the grant of pensions to aliens is supposed to be contrary to the sense of the nation, even by the advisers of such grant, and therefore not avowed, though made. There is a pension, Sir, granted nominally to one *George Charles*, but really to Count *Viri*, the Sardinian minister, for negotiating the peace that has just been concluded with the minister of France. I must confess, Sir, that in my opinion this service deserved no such recompense, at least on our part, so that in this case our money is not only granted to an alien, but to an alien who has no merit to plead. If it is thought a defensible measure, I should be glad to know why it was not avowed, and why, if it is proper we should pay a thousand pounds a year to Count *Viri*, we should be made to believe that we pay it to *George Charles* ?”

The reader will draw his own conclusion from the following account of monies issued for the King's privy purse and secret service, during the two last years of the reign of *George II.* and the three first years of *George III.*; taken from the

The reduced condition of France required no entreaty on the part of Turin, to induce her to accept the pacific assurances of the new British minister. But before this negotiation was *publicly* opened, Lord *Bute* had avowedly assumed the character of prime minister. He had dismissed the Duke of *Newcastle*, and all

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Lord Bute
minister.

the 32d vol. of the Journals of the House of Commons, page 514, &c.

GEORGE II.

From October 1758 to October 1759.	To <i>Edward Finch</i> Esq. for his Majesty's privy purse 36,000l. For secret service during the same period 67,000l.
From October 1759 to October 1760.	To <i>Edward Finch</i> Esq. for his Majesty's privy purse 36,000l. For secret service during the same period 66,000l.

GEORGE III.

From October 1760 to October 1761.	To <i>John</i> Earl of <i>Bute</i> for his Majesty's privy purse 40,000l. For secret service during the same period 66,000l.
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[Here Mr. Pitt's administration ends.]

From October 1761 to October 1762.	To <i>John</i> Earl of <i>Bute</i> for his Majesty's privy purse 48,000l. For secret service during the same period 95,000l.
From October 1762 to October 1763.	To <i>John</i> Earl of <i>Bute</i> for his Majesty's privy purse 48,000l. For secret service during the same period 72,000l.

his

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his friends, and had established his omnipotence through every department of the state. He took the treasury himself, and appointed Mr. *Grenville* his successor in the secretary of state's office. Lord *Anson* dying at this time, he offered the admiralty to Lord *Halifax*, who at first refused it, because he wanted to be secretary of state; upon which Lord *Bute* told him he did not know what he refused; that in patronage it was next to the treasury. Lord *Halifax* then took it. He had recalled his brother from Turin, and had appointed Lord *Rivers* to that station. When his brother appeared at the levee, his Majesty honoured him with this compliment, "*I have now a second Friend here.*"

His brother
at court.

From the moment that Lord *Bute* became minister, it was the public language at the court of Versailles, that he *must* make peace if he wished to preserve his power; and therefore the assurances of his pacific disposition, and the offers to commence a negotiation, that court was prepared to expect.

The correspondence of this negotiation not having been laid before Parliament, it may
not

not be improper, in this place, to state a few particulars of the negotiation, with some extraordinary circumstances relative to it, which, although they are known to several persons, who have been in certain situations, yet they are not known to the public in general.

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The Duke of *Bedford* set out for Paris on the fifth of September 1762, with full powers to treat; and on the 12th of the same month the Duc de *Nivernois* arrived in England. A few hours after the Duke of *Bedford* arrived at Calais, he received dispatches from London, by a messenger who was sent after him, containing some limitations in his full powers. He immediately sent the messenger back with a letter, insisting upon his former instructions being restored, and in case of a refusal, declaring his resolution to return to England. The cabinet acceded to his Grace's demand. But the most essential articles of the treaty were agreed upon between M. de *Choiseul* and the Sardinian minister at Paris, and Lord *Bute* and the Sardinian minister at London, without any other trouble to the Duke of *Bedford* than giving his formal assent. The manœuvre in making the King of Sardinia

Interesting
particulars
of the ne-
gotiation
between
Great Bri-
tain and
France.

umpire,

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umpire, gave to his ambassadors the power of decision ; consequently the Duke of *Bedford* had very little room for the exercise of his powers, until a circumstance happened which occasioned a division in the British cabinet.— This was the capture of the *Havannah*. The news of this event arrived in England on the 29th of September. The negotiation was nearly concluded. In a few days the preliminaries would have been signed.

Lord *Bute* expressed his fears that this acquisition would embarrass and postpone the accomplishment of peace, if the negotiation, which was on the point of being finished, should on that account be opened again ; and therefore he declared his wish to be, to conclude the peace in the same manner, and on the same terms, which had been agreed upon before the news of this event arrived, without any other mention of it than the name of it among the places to be restored.

Mr. *Grenville* opposed this idea. He declared his opinion to be, that, if the *Havannah* was restored, there ought to be an equivalent given for it. And in their delibera-

tions upon this subject, it is certain that he insisted upon this alternative—either the entire property of Jucatan and Florida, or the islands of St. Lucia and Porto Rico.

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Lord *Bute* adhered to his first opinion; upon which Mr. *Grenville* resigned his place of secretary of state, on the 12th day of October. Lord *Halifax* immediately succeeded to his office, and Mr. *Grenville* went to the admiralty, by which he was removed from the cabinet.

Lord *Egremont*, however, represented to Lord *Bute*, in very strong terms, the necessity of an equivalent for the Havannah. Either his Lordship's arguments or Lord *Bute*'s fears so far prevailed as to occasion an instruction to be sent to the Duke of *Bedford* to ask for Florida. The Duke had been informed of the whole dispute in the British cabinet by Mr. *Grenville*, and being entirely of Mr. *Grenville*'s opinion, he added Porto Rico to his demand. But Lord *Bute* and the Sardinian minister in London settled it for Florida only. At Paris some difficulties arose.—The cession of Florida was made without

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the least hesitation; the French minister instantly agreed to it; which shews the superior influence of the French cabinet in this negotiation. But with respect to Porto Rico, the French minister resorted to chicane and delay. It was at length agreed to send a messenger to Madrid, with this demand. Fourteen days were allowed for the messenger to go and return. During this period the Duke of *Bedford* received positive orders to sign the preliminaries. Two days after the preliminaries were signed, the messenger returned; and *it was said* that Spain purchased the retention of the island. Whether the Sardinian minister at London or at Paris, or both, were entrusted on this occasion, or whether any other persons were admitted to the same confidence, are questions for the investigation of posterity. Discoveries of this kind are seldom made either at or near the time of the transaction. The offers of *Louis* the Fourteenth to the Duke of *Marlborough* were not known until the publication of *De Torcy's* Memoirs *. Whatever
were

* "I am willing you should offer the Duke of *Marlborough* four millions, should he enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for my grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk, with its fortifications

were the confidential measures, it is certain the Duke of *Bedford* was not entrusted with them.

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tions and harbour, and Straßburg and Landau, in the manner above explained, or even the same sum were Sicily to be exempted out of this last article." *Mem. de Torcy*, t. ii. p. 237.

"It is not necessary to have recourse to foreign examples. We have a *Sejanus* of our own. Have we not seen him for a time displaying his exorbitant treasures, in every kind of princely profusion? Has he not purchased estates, built and adorned villas, erected palaces, and furnished them with sumptuous magnificence? I am sure I speak within compass, when I assert that within these last three years [*this was written in the autumn 1765*], he has expended between two and three hundred thousand pounds: An enormous sum, equal almost to the whole revenues of the kingdom from which he draws his original! I could wish to be informed by some of those who are in the secret, how he has acquired such prodigious wealth. I will not suppose he *embezzled the public money*, when he officiously thrust himself into office, because there were so many checks upon him in that department, that he could not easily have done it without associates, or possessing more courage or cunning than I take him to be master of.—But how then has he acquired such amazing riches? Tell me, ye flatterers of his, was it by *state jobbing*, or *stock jobbing*, that he is become, from a needy northern Thane, a potent British noble? What sinister method has he taken to plunder the nation, and escape the iron hand of justice? I am aware of the answer, that he has been able to make a purchase to the amount of ninety-seven thousand pounds, to lay out a large park, and adorn and build two magnificent houses, out of the estate which was left him by a relation three years ago. But such a reply is so false and foolish, that it scarce deserves a

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them. However, as his Grace kept a diary of all public transactions in which he had any share, and as Mr. *Grenville* kept copies of all his letters on public business, if ever these are laid before the public, and it is hoped they will, many suspicions, which can now only be hinted, will be confirmed or obviated.

The examination of Dr. *Musgrave* at the bar of the House of Commons, although it was voted *frivolous*, perhaps will not appear

moment's consideration; for I will venture to maintain that the whole sum of his *visible* income, for the last *ten years*, put together, will not amount to above 50,000*l.* As to the estate, it is not big; he is entitled only to part of the annual produce, for two thousand pounds a year were left to his injured brother, on whom he *affectionately turned his back* as soon as he had possessed himself of his natural inheritance. When this 2000*l. per annum* is deducted, there will not remain *clear to the Favourite* above 5000*l.* a year: And whether this is sufficient to account for all those immense sums which, to our amazement and indignation, he has lately expended, I leave every impartial person to judge." *Anti Sejanus.*

It is, no doubt, yet in the public recollection, that a series of political essays, distinguished by the signature of *Anti Sejanus*, appeared in the public prints, in the autumn of the year 1765. They were supposed to be written by Mr. *Scott* of Trinity College, Cambridge, under the patronage of Lord *Sandwich*. The above extract is made from the paper of the 3d of August.

so in the eye of impartial posterity. As this examination is not in every body's hands, the reader will find an extract from it in the note *.

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The

* Dr. *Musgrave* read the following paper at the bar, being the information he laid before Lord *Halifax*, for the purpose of instituting an inquiry :

Narrative of Intelligence received at Paris.

1. The first hint I had of the ministry having been bribed to make the peace, was at the latter end of the year 1763, from Monsieur in a private conversation I had with that gentleman. The peace happening to be talked of, he made use of this expression, *On croit à Paris, que milord Bute a eu de l'argent pour cela.* Though the words *on croit* were pretty strong, and though Monsieur . . . 's connections gave great weight to them, I considered the thing as an idle rumour, and neither pushed the conversation further at that time, nor made any inquiry about it afterwards.

2. It was not till the latter end of November 1764, that I began to think the story more worthy attention. Being at that time in company with three gentlemen, an Irishman, a Scotchman, and a Frenchman, a dispute arose about the peace: The Irishman and myself condemning it, the Frenchman remaining silent, the Scotchman alone approving it. The dispute did not last long before the Irishman and the Scotchman had occasion to go away, so that there remained only the Frenchman and myself together. Our conversation falling upon the same topic, he told me that he remembered to have heard, a little before the Duke of Bedford's negotiation, that a sum of money, amounting to about eight millions of livres, had been sent into England to buy a peace ; that the remittance

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Union of
the Duke of
Bedford and
Mr. Gren-
ville.

The coincidence of opinion which arose between the Duke of *Bedford* and Mr. *Grenville* during the preceding negotiation, laid the

had been made by Monsieur de la Borde, and another banker whose name he did not know; and that the way this came to be known, was by the clerks talking of it among themselves after dinner. He added, that being himself in company with several gentlemen who were giving their conjectures whether peace would hold or no, one of the company decided the question, by saying, *Nous auront la paix certainement, car nous l'avont achetée.* This was all I heard the first interview.

3. I communicated this account the next morning to a Mr. Stuart, my patient, who lived in the Rue de l'Echelle, with a Mr. Maclean. Mr. Maclean was then gone out, but upon his coming in I repeated it to him. It occurred to me, during my conversation with Mr. Stuart, as it did afterwards to Mr. Maclean, that the fact of money being sent over might be true, but that the destination of it might be a mistake; that in short it might be intended for no other purpose than to buy up English stocks, for the sake of selling them soon after at an advanced price. This account appeared so natural, that I went home in (almost) a full persuasion of its being really the case.

4. The same day, or the day after, I saw the same Frenchman, my informant, again. I put this objection to him. He answered readily, No, that was not the case. He knew very well, continued he, that Mons. de la Borde sent over a very large order for stocks, by the Sardinian ambassador's courier; but the money I speak of was before that time, and at least a month or two before the Duke of Bedford's arrival. Besides, I can tell you the people to whom it was distributed. It was divided among three persons, Lord But~~e~~—here he hesitated

the foundation of that union which subsisted between them until within a few years of Mr.

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tated for a minute or two. I mentioned to him the name of Lord Holland. He answered, No ; it was not Lord Holland, that was not the name ; it was Mr. Fox. The third, added he, was a lady, whose name I do not recollect.

This I am sure was all that passed upon the subject at our second interview.

5. The third interview was, I believe, on Monday the 3d of December. I then asked him whether the third person, whose name he could not recollect, was not ——— ? He answered, No, it was not. That he had heard the name ; that it being a name no way familiar to him, he could not, at such a distance of time, recollect it of himself ; but if it was mentioned he believed he should know it. At present, added he, I only remember that it was a lady, and the mistress of a man of great quality.

6. I had hitherto made no inquiries about his authorities. But reflecting that a person who could know all these particulars must have been very near the source, I thought proper to ask him the next time I saw him, from whom he had his information. He answered, from an officer, who at that time furnished plans to the Duke de Choiseul's office, was of course greatly connected with it, and moreover dined every day with the principal people of the office ; and there, added he, at table, did these gentlemen talk over the affair, not without some satisfaction at its being concluded. Further, says he, this officer, who is now at Cayenne, reasoned thus with me about it : Is it not better to buy a peace at the expence of ten millions, than spend three hundred millions (if we could raise them) to fit our army for the field, which army, so fitted out, could not possibly do us any material service ?

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Mr. Grenville's death. They perfectly agreed,
That better terms of peace might have been had—
that

7. I had curiosity, continued he, to hear what the Sardinian ambassador's secretary, who was a great acquaintance of mine, would say to this. Happening to meet him soon after, I told him it was reported the English had given a great sum to Madame Pompadour, to buy a peace, and asked him if it was true. The answer he made me was in these words; *ah, que vous êtes bête? les Anglois donne de l'argent? et pourquoi faire? oui, oui, on a donnée de l'argent.*

8. He further said, that, upon Monsieur Buffy's return from England, one of his secretaries having dropped some hints in company, *à un souper*, of what was going on in England, was taken up and put into the Bastille, that he might not, by any further indiscretion, discover the whole affair.

9. Upon my mentioning an intention of going to England with the news, he added, that the whole detail of the transaction might be known, either from Monsieur D'Eon, if he chanced to hear it, or from a Monsieur L'Escallier, a wine merchant in London, whom the Duke de Nivernois made use of as a secretary.

10. I pressed him about the authenticity of his account; his answer was, as to myself, *Je le crois autant que je crois ma propre existence.* He assured me likewise, that the affair was shamefully notorious in some houses at Paris; *C'est affaire faisoit même beaucoup de scandale dans certaines maisons à Paris.*

11. I think it necessary to take notice of one variation, and the only one that I observed in his account. In the first interview he mentioned the sum of eight millions of livres*. In a subsequent one (I forgot which) he said between five and eight millions; Possibly this might be owing to his hav-

* Compare this with the first paragraph.

that all was not obtained which might have been obtained. But although they were convinced,
and

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ing heard the sum named in English money, and never having given himself the trouble of reducing it to French, because the last time I talked with him upon the subject, when I desired to know, as near as possible, the exact sum, he took a little time to recollect himself, and then said, between eight and ten millions of livres, that is, continued he, in English four hundred thousand guineas.

Extract from the Examination.

What was Lord Halifax's answer to this information?

I would first mention some previous steps. Lord Hertford having asked me if I thought it matter of further inquiry, I went to Lord Mansfield; he said he chose not to hear it. I then went to Dr. Blackstone, who read my paper of information, and told me that I should carry it to the secretary of state; that no Englishman would be averse to inquire into it. I went to Lord Halifax on the 10th of May; he desired me to come again that evening: I then saw him; he took the paper and read it, looked up and stopped; then said, I was recollecting, that that person bought stock at that time, but it might be with his own money. He read my letter to Lord Hertford, said it was a proper one—He said, If I had been in Lord Hertford's place I would have sent it to —, and heard what he had to say. On reading the second letter, he said, This might be very deep; I would readily inquire, but it is an affair of such magnitude; and then put a case of a man's being robbed on Hounslow-heath, and going to Justice Fielding, and saying he was robbed by a tall thin man, and apprehended it was the Duke of Ancaſter; there is no difference, only in the size of the purse. He said, If you had any proof, I would make no difficulty of telling it to my royal master. In my
letter

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and the fact lay within their own knowledge, that the interests of the nation had been sacrificed

letter to Lord Hertford I mentioned the defectiveness of my information as a proof of the truth of it. Lord Halifax said, I think with you, it is more likely to be true from his knowing only a few circumstances. The second meeting was a few days afterwards. He did not stick to one objection. I set down a few arguments to use to him, which I left with him; I have in my pocket the same arguments, which I set down a short time after, from my recollection. This is not a copy. [Read a paper, in substance as follows:]

Narrative of intelligence is sufficient for inquiry, though not for accusation, confirmed by Dr. Blackstone. The first of all crimes is hearsay; rare, at first, to stumble upon certainty. All offenders would escape if there was no inquiry. The high quality of offenders is no reason for stopping the inquiry; it must be done speedily; if the common people hear it, and believe it, they might do justice after their own manner. I recommend it to Lord Halifax, as one of the French ministers is here, whether he can be excused for not examining into it, &c.

What said Lord Halifax?

Lord Halifax made no answer to the paper, nor did he controvert one of the arguments.

The next morning I saw Mr. Fitzherbert; Sir Geo. Yonge was there. Mr. Fitzherbert expressed his astonishment at my boldness in going to Lord Halifax. He said he would not have any thing of his writing appear. Mr. Fitzherbert said he had intelligence the French were offering money to get D'Eon's papers back. I went the same day to Lord Halifax, or the next day. Lord Halifax said, I will have nothing to do with the matter. I disbelieve the charge; if I did believe it, as strongly as I now disbelieve it, I should not think this
suf-

crificed by the leader of the cabinet to his extravagant desire of peace; yet when the preliminary-

sufficient ground to go upon. I told him it was his duty; he seemed surprised. He said his duty was to take care of the state. I told him that Mr. Fitzherbert had said the French were in treaty for D'Eon's papers: I made my apology for troubling him, and that closed my conversation with Lord Halifax.

(Mr. Fitzherbert.) Did you collect from my conversation that I had the smallest knowledge of D'Eon?

I don't know I did; but Mr. Fitzherbert admitted the reality of the overtures. After the names of the two Lords were mentioned, Mr. Fitzherbert said, Did you hear nothing of the Princess of Wales? I said, No. Mr. Fitzherbert answered, D'Eon says the Princess of Wales had some of the money.

From whom had you the information of D'Eon's overtures?

The first was from General Conway. He first gave me a hint of it.

What was that hint?

When I told the story, Mr. Conway asked me if I had seen D'Eon; he said, I hear he has dropped hints. I told him I never would see him. I said, I will avoid all possibility of concert with any one. After this, I went to Mr. Hartly, and desired him to inquire. He desired first to consult Sir George Saville. Sir George Saville came to us; I could not tell him the particulars, but only that there was such a charge. Sir George Saville thought it was right to consult the Duke of Newcastle. He went to him: I was not present; but I heard that the Duke of Newcastle said, Fox was rogue enough to do any thing, but thought he was not fool enough to do this. The Duke said he could not advise them to meddle in it,

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liminary articles of the treaty were submitted to the consideration of Parliament, Mr. Grenville

it, for D'Eon will be bribed, and then you will be left in the lurch. I heard this conversation from Sir George Saville, or Mr. Hartly; from one of them, in the presence of the other. They both went to the Duke of Newcastle.

(Mr. Conway.) What was the nature of his first application to me?

The nature of my first application to Mr. Conway was, I wanted to know how to convey a letter to Lord Hertford, not to be opened, to inquire whether the informant was apprehended. I had designed presenting a paper to the House of Commons, setting forth the information. He asked me the particulars, and said he would not encourage such application to the House of Commons, without a shadow of probability; and then asked if I had heard that D'Eon had dropped hints, and whether I would go to him. I said, No, I would not. Mr. Conway added, At the same time I think it the duty of every man to come at truth in every station.

Had you any intimacy with your informant at Paris?

It would be improper to answer that question—but they were men of credibility.

Had you any other information of D'Eon's overtures but from General Conway?

The first intimation was from general Conway; then I applied to Mr. Hartly. Mr. Hartly told me that D'Eon's letter was sent to Mr. Fitzherbert. Afterwards he informed me more fully, and named the two privy counsellors and the lady. He said, the lady is the Princess of Wales. I said, it can't be, because my informant would not have forgot the name, and named another lady, the mistress of a man of quality.

Grenville gave them his approbation by his vote, and the Duke of *Bedford* by his proxy;

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NOT

Do you understand this overture of D'Eon's was contained in a letter to Mr. Fitzherbert?

Mr. Hartly told me so. I met him in a chair, and he said, All I have heard is, that D'Eon's letter was sent to Fitzherbert; that Mr. Pitt had been consulted, and had written a letter, dissuading them from proceeding. Mr. Hartly never told it me from his own knowledge.

(Dr. Blackstone.) Are you sure I directed you to go to Lord Halifax?

Not directly to Lord Halifax. Doctor Blackstone said, You must by all means go to the ministry: It is an affair of an alarming nature. He sent three days after to know if I had been; for he said, If you had not I should think myself obliged, as a servant of the crown, to go and give it myself.

I took a minute of what passed between us, which I will mention to Dr. M. I took it immediately, and communicated it the same day to an intimate friend, and it has never since been out of my custody.

[Produces a minute taken immediately after Dr. Musgrave had been with him, on the 10th of May 1765, at half past eleven o'clock in the morning.]

“ Dr. Musgrave came and shewed me a written conversation between him and Mr. Le Beau, in the latter end of 1763, where he declared that it was believed at Paris that Lord Bute had received money for the peace, and many other conversations with another French ambassador. The sum of the account was this, That eight or ten millions of livres had been remitted by a French banker, just before the D. of Bedford went to France: That this was divided between Lord B. Mr. F. and a lady, name not mentioned; and that Mr. D'Eon, or Mr. Descalier, could inform him of particulars. He also shewed

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nor was it until the open breach with Lord
Bute in 1765, that the fact concerning the Ha-
vannah

shewed me Lord Holland's letters and answers. He told me he had communicated it to General Conway, and that he had learnt from Mr. Fitzherbert that D'Eon tells the same story, except that he mentions the Princess of Wales, which Dr. M. observed might be no inconsistency, if a Maid of Honour's name only was made use of, and the money paid over by the Princess Dowager of Wales. Dr. Musgrave seemed to be attached to D'Eon's cause, and believed the story of his assassination being attempted by Count de Guerchy, and his coffers being searched. He asked me if this was sufficient to justify bringing it before the secretary of state? As our acquaintance was small, I was surprised. I told him that the affair was delicate, both as to the things and persons, and that he should well consider the consequences if his friend should deny it. He said his friend was a man of honour, and knew he left Paris for that purpose. I begged to be excused advising him, but he would do right to consider that it would depend on conviction of his own mind, and his friend's veracity. It was equally a duty to disclose such a transaction on good foundation, and to stifle it in the birth, if founded on malice or ignorance. We parted, and he seemed inclined to proceed. I don't recollect the conversation he mentions three days after; it might be: I thought him such an enthusiast as might have disordered his imagination."

(Mr. Speaker.) The hon. gentleman delivered to me a copy of the paper he has now read, which has been in my custody ever since.

(Dr. Musgrave.) As to the second conversation, Dr. Blackstone will recollect it if I shew him his note, desiring me to come to him: I have not that note about me, but I am sure it is still in my possession. I don't know what he thinks
of

vannah was known beyond the small circle of their indispensable confidants. This circum-

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of my enthusiasm, but I remember he trembled, seemed much affected, and let the paper drop as in great agitation.

(Sir Geo. Yonge.) After I had expressed my surprise at his coming to me, he told me he had laid the matter before Lord Halifax, who was willing to receive information from any gentleman whatever. He pressed it so strongly, that I thought he came with a message, but he did not say that. I said, If Lord Halifax will send for me I will wait on him, but I know nothing of the matter with regard to the second meeting at Mr. Fitzherbert's, nor did I know he had told the story to Mr. Fitzherbert till I saw it in the papers.

(Mr. Fitzherbert.) I never remember being in the same room with Sir G. Yonge and Dr. Musgrave. Dr. Musgrave came and talked in the same style, and told me the story he says I told him. I don't remember I said any thing at that time; the Dr. came and told me this story. I will do myself the justice to tell all I knew at that time, though I don't recollect I told it him. We were then a good many in a society in Albemarle-street: I had an office in that society: When he had told me all he had to say, I wished to change the subject; he would not; so I told all I knew of it. Captain Cole, a gentleman of general admission, had come to me, and said D'Eon desires me to tell you he is apprehensive of being taken away by force, on account of a quarrel with Count Guerchy, in which ministry would assist him. He desired me to communicate it to the society, which I did. He recommended D'Eon as an agreeable man. I communicated it to Sir Geo. Yonge, and desired him to go with me, because he could speak French, which I could not easily: No day was appointed; we never did meet; I never knew Mr. D'Eon; I never received a letter from him. As to going on with the conversation,

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cumstance indisputably shews, that the public interest was not the first consideration with his Majesty's servants at this time. And it is believed, although it is a matter that perhaps will not be ascertained until some future period, that Lord *Bute's* resignation, in the month of April 1763, was occasioned by the junction of Mr. *Grenville* and the Duke of *Bedford*, and the menaces they held out against him respecting the negotiation for peace—that he compounded for his impunity by an abandonment of office to the Duke and his friends. It was, however, the popular opinion, that the political paper called *The North Briton*, written principally by Mr. *Wilkes*, had raised such a spirit of animosity in the nation against Lord *Bute*, that he re-

tion, and naming the Princess of Wales, I have nothing to say to that; I have no trace of it in my memory; it must depend on our veracity; nor had I any direct message but from Captain Cole, as to his apprehensions of being taken away.

(Mr. Speaker.) Dr. Musgrave, would you ask these gentlemen, or either of them, any questions?

(Dr. Musgrave.) I was not prepared for these answers, and I have no questions to ask them.

Motion by Sir George Osborne—"That the accusations brought by Dr. Musgrave are in the highest degree frivolous."

Agreed to, January 29, 1770.

signed

signed from an apprehension of popular indignation; and it answered the purpose of more parties than one at that time to say so. But Mr. *Wilkes* had no more influence in the resignation of Lord *Bute*, than he had in that of Sir *R. Walpole*, or any other minister.—However, until Lord *Bute* absconded from his public situation of minister, no favourite exercised the power of the crown with more pride and insolence. This charge might be proved in innumerable instances. But it is not the design of this work to relate any occurrence, not immediately connected with Mr. *Pitt*, unless the same has been either omitted, or materially mistated, in the public accounts of the times. Of this latter kind is the dismissal of the Duke of *Devonshire*.

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During the preceding negotiation of peace, his Grace held the office of lord chamberlain, and although in the discharge of his official duties he was very frequently attending on the King, yet differing from his Majesty's other servants on political subjects, he did not attend any council held after the commencement of the negotiation. Early in the month of October 1762, he obtained his Majesty's

Dismissal
of the D. of
Devonshire.

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permission to go to Bath. While he was at Bath he received a summons to attend council, and the summons, as usual, mentioned the business, which was, the *final* consideration on the preliminary articles of peace. The Duke wrote an answer, That as he had not attended any of the *former* councils on the subject of the negotiation, he apprehended that his presence at the *last* council would be improper. At the end of the month his Grace returned to London; and the day after his arrival, being levee-day, he went to court. The King was in the closet. He sent in his name. The King took no notice. In this particular the Duke was wrong—he was too delicate—he should have demanded an audience. He next desired to know to whom he should deliver his key? The King returned an answer, That he should send for it next morning, which he did, and with his own hand struck his Grace's name out of the list of his privy council.

The reader will make his own observations on this extraordinary conduct. No one need be told, that the *Cavendishes* were amongst the most warm and most determined supporters

of the Revolution in 1688, and of the House of Brunswick; nor have their virtue and zeal diminished in an opposition to the most subtle attempts to accomplish the most despotic designs.

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Nor has the immediate cause of the Duke of *Newcastle's* resignation been less mistated. When his Grace found that the annual convention with Prussia was not to be renewed, as usual, he suggested another mode to save the national honour, and which would, at the same time, support the national dignity, and essentially contribute towards commanding the terms of peace. This was when the application was made to Parliament in the month of May 1762, for a vote of credit of one million, his Grace wished to extend the sum to two millions. A vote of credit of one million had been usual every year of the war. His Grace's intention was, to have supplied the King of Prussia with the amount of his annual subsidy out of the second million. But this design being made known to Lord *Bute*, by one of the secretaries of the treasury*,

Dismission
of the Duke
of New-
castle.

* The political paper called *The North Briton* accused Mr. *S. Martin* of having betrayed the Duke of *Newcastle* to Lord *Bute*. *Martin* was also treasurer to the Princess of *Wales*.

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almost as soon as it was suggested, that Lord opposed it with the greatest warmth. The Duke finding this opposition from Lord *Bute*, and expecting no better success in the closet, he saw his influence at an end, and immediately resigned.

Lord Granville.

Mr. *Wood*, who had been Mr. *Pitt's* secretary during the war, says in the preface to his Essay on Homer, that having waited upon Lord *Granville*, president of the council, when he was dying, with the preliminary articles of the treaty, and read them to him, his Lordship declared "It was the most honourable peace he ever saw." This anecdote only proves Lord *Granville's* attachment to Lord *Bath* to the last moment of his life. Dr. *Franklin* frequently entertained his friends with another anecdote of this nobleman, which deserves to be remembered. Upon the embargo being laid on all American vessels laden with corn, flour, &c. in the year 1757, the American agents petitioned against it, and were heard before the privy council. Lord *Granville*, who was lord president, told them, That America must not do any thing to interfere with Great Britain in the European markets; that if America grew corn, so did Eng-

England ; that if America shipped corn, so did England. Upon which Dr. *Franklin* told his Lordship that America could not do any thing that would not interfere with Great Britain in some respect or other. If they planted, reaped, and must not ship, the best thing he could advise his Lordship to do would be, to apply to Parliament for transports sufficient to bring them all back again.

Has it not been the misfortune of England, that most of her great men have frequently shewn that they were influenced by very narrow ideas, when exercising their political talents on national subjects? If the policy of that part of the treaty was just, which extended the British colonies in America, what benefit could be derived from those colonies if these ideas of restraint were to be maintained?

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EXTRAORDINARY PREPARATIONS FOR THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—PRELIMINARY ARTICLES OF PEACE LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT. — MR. PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THEM.

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Extraordi-
nary prepa-
rations.

PARLIAMENT met on the 25th of November 1762*. The most extraordinary provision was made for this event. The royal household had been increased beyond all former example. The lords and grooms of the bedchamber were doubled. Pensions were thrown about indiscriminately. Five and twenty thousand pounds were issued in one day, in bank notes of one hundred pounds

* In the evening of the day preceding the meeting of Parliament, the members of the House of Commons met, as usual, at the Cockpit. Mr. Fox took the chair, and produced to the company a paper which he only called a *Speech*, and which he said he would, as usual, read to them. He afterwards produced an *Address*, which he read, and then said, that Lord *Carysfort* and Lord *Charles Spencer* had been so kind to undertake to move and second *that* address. The same ceremony is observed with respect to the House of Lords.—The speech is read by some Peer, who is supposed to conduct the business of that House. The manager of the House of Commons takes the chair at the Cockpit.

each.

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each. The only stipulation was, *Give us your vote.* A corruption of such notoriety and extent had never been seen before. There is no example, in any age or country, that in any degree approaches to it. The dole was lavish beyond the probability of account, or possibility of credit. Mr. Fox had the management of the House of Commons, with unlimited powers.

On the 29th of November, the preliminary articles of peace with France and Spain were laid before both Houses.

Preliminaries laid before Parliament.

On the ninth of December they were taken into consideration, and a motion was made, "To return his Majesty thanks for his gracious condescension in ordering the preliminary articles of peace concluded between his Majesty and their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties, to be laid before them; to assure his Majesty his faithful Commons were impatient to express to his Majesty their approbation of the advantageous terms upon which his Majesty hath concluded preliminary articles of peace; and to lay before his Majesty the hearty applause of a faithful, affectionate,

CHAP. XXIII. fectionate, and thankful people, &c. &c.
 1762. &c.”

On this memorable day Mr. *Pitt* attended in Parliament, notwithstanding he was at that moment afflicted with a severe fit of the gout. He spoke in reply to Mr. *Fox*, who made the motion.

Mr. Pitt's
 speech
 against the
 preliminaries.

M. S.

‘ He began with lamenting his ill state of
 ‘ health, which had confined him to his
 ‘ chamber; but although he was at this instant
 ‘ suffering under the most excruciating tor-
 ‘ ture, yet he determined, at the hazard of
 ‘ his life, to attend this day, to raise up his
 ‘ voice, his hand, and his arm, against the
 ‘ preliminary articles of a treaty that obscured
 ‘ all the glories of the war, surrendered the
 ‘ dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed
 ‘ the public faith, by an abandonment of our
 ‘ allies. He owned that the terms upon
 ‘ which he had consented to conclude a peace
 ‘ had not been satisfactory to all persons; it
 ‘ was impossible to reconcile every interest;
 ‘ but he had not, he said, for the mere at-
 ‘ tainment of peace, made a sacrifice of any
 ‘ principle which had neither broken the na-
 ‘ tional

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‘He

Mr. Pitt's Negotiation.

Mr. Pitt, and all the King's
servants, infixed, " That the
French

Gives the French " The
liberty to fish in the Gulph of
St.

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‘ He perceived that the right hon. gentle-
man and his friends were prepared for only
‘ the

French shall abstain from that particular fishery, on all the coasts appertaining to Great Britain, whether on the continent, the islands situated in the said Gulph of St. Lawrence; which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed, and always exercised, saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht.”

St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, and fifteen leagues from the coast of the island of Cape Breton, together with the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland.” — If the French are as attentive to their interests as we have ever found them to be, they will doubtless call this a grant of the **WHOLE FISHERY**.

Mr. Pitt absolutely refused to cede the island of Miquelon to the French, and the French minister told Mr. Stanley, “ He would not insist on it.” To the cession of the island of St. Peter **ONLY**, *four indispensable* conditions were annexed*. — The cession of the island of St. Peter, as well as some others, was not agreeable to Mr. Pitt’s own inclination; for it is a fact that

The islands of St. Peter and Miquelon are both ceded to the French, in full right, without any one of the *four indispensable* conditions. No English commissary is allowed to reside there; our security is on the *present* French King’s royal word, but not a syllable is mentioned of any engagement for his successors.

Lord

* See in the Appendix H. the answer of Mr. Pitt to the Ultimatum of France delivered by M. Bussy, on the 16th of August 1761.

‘ the present question. He would, therefore, take a view of the articles as they appeared upon the paper on the table.’

[Mr.

that both *he* and Lord *Temple* earnestly contested for the *whole exclusive fishery*, which, they said, ought to be insisted upon. But in this, as *many* other things, they were over-ruled.

Mr. *Pitt* insisted on keeping both Senegal and Goree, on the coast of Africa, “ For that Senegal could not be securely maintained without Goree ;” and M. *Buffy* “ was authorised to consent to the cession.”

Mr. *Pitt* positively refused to cede the island of St. Lucia to France. His negotiation declares “ the cession by no means admissible.”

Mr. *Pitt* treated the King of Prussia with efficacy and good faith. The answer to the French Ultimatum says, “ As to what regards the *restitution* and evacuation of the conquests made by France on the King’s allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel, and other territories of the King of Prussia, his Majesty persists in his demand

Lord *Bute* gave away the island of Goree, which was of the greatest importance to France, as it serves her as a security in the supply of negroes for the French West Indies.

Lord *Bute* ceded St. Lucia in full right to France.

Lord *Bute* both deceived and betrayed the King of Prussia. He first broke the faith of the nation, by refusing the subsidy to that monarch ; then in the preliminary articles of peace, he stipulated evacuation and *restoration* with regard to the conquests made on our allies, except the King of Prussia, for whom he stipulated *evacuation only*.

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[Mr. Pitt was so excessively ill, and his pain so exceedingly acute, that the House unanimously de-

mand relative to that subject, in the *ultimatum* of England, viz. That they be *restored* and evacuated." The French having proposed the keeping possession of the countries belonging to the King of Prussia, Mr. Pitt returned this answer in writing, which was applauded by *all* the King's ministers:—" I likewise return you, as totally inadmissible, the memorial relative to the King of Prussia, as implying an attempt on the honour of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies."

only. All the conquests which the French were in possession of belonging to Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick, &c. amounted to only a few villages, not exceeding one hundred acres of land in the whole. But the places belonging to the King of Prussia, of which the French were in possession, were Cleves, Gueldres, Wesel, &c. Thus Lord *Bute*, instead of behaving to the King of Prussia with good faith, becoming an ally, acted like an open enemy to him, and left the French at full liberty to evacuate those places, and all others which they held belonging to that monarch, *to whom they pleased.* And lastly, he said, the dominions of the King of Prussia "*were to be scrambled for.*" That was his phrase in the House of Lords.— And it was very near being the case; for as soon as the treaty was signed, the court of Vienna ordered a large body of troops to begin their march for the Netherlands, with a view to enter those places the moment the French should evacuate them. The King of Prussia did the same. The Netherlands were thus threatened with becoming the theatre of war; and the French minister foreseeing that France must take part in it, he proposed to the King of Prussia to deliver up all those places to him, provided his Majesty would sign a neutrality for the Netherlands.

desired he might be indulged to deliver his sentiments sitting—a circumstance that was unprecedented. Hitherto he had been supported by two of his friends.]

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‘ The first important article was the fishery.
 ‘ The terms in which this article was written
 ‘ appeared to him to give to France a grant
 ‘ of the whole fishery. There was an absolute
 ‘ unconditional surrender of the islands of St.
 ‘ Pierre and Miquelon, which, if France con-
 ‘ tinued to be as attentive to her own interest
 ‘ as we have hitherto found her, would enable
 ‘ her to recover her marine. He considered
 ‘ this to be a most dangerous article to the
 ‘ maritime strength and future power of Great
 ‘ Britain. In the negotiation he had with
 ‘ M. *Buffy*, he had acquiesced in the cession
 ‘ of St. Pierre *only*; after having, he said, se-
 ‘ veral times in vain contended for the whole
 ‘ exclusive fishery; but he was over-ruled; he
 ‘ repeated *he was over-ruled*, not by the foreign
 ‘ enemy, but by another enemy. After many
 ‘ struggles, he obtained four limitations to the

lands. The King agreed to the proposal, and purchased his territories on that condition.

‘ island

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island of St. Pierre ; they were indispensable
 conditions, but they were omitted in the
 present treaty. If they were necessary in
 the surrender of one island, they were
 doubly necessary in the surrender of two.
 In the volumes of abuse which had been so
 plentifully bestowed upon him, by the
 writers who were paid and patronized by
 those who held great employments in the
 state, the cession of Pierre *only* had been con-
 demned in terms of acrimony. . He had
 been reminded that the Earl of *Oxford* was
 impeached for allowing the French liberty
 to fish and dry fish on Newfoundland. He
 admitted the fact. But that impeachment
 was a scandalous measure, was disapproved
 by every impartial person. In one article
 (the seventeenth), the minister is accused
 of having advised the *destructive* expedition
 against Canada——Why was that expedi-
 tion called *destructive* ? Because it was not
 successful. Thus have events been confi-
 dered by Parliament as standards of political
 judgment. Had the expedition to Canada,
 under general *Wolfe*, been unsuccessful, there
 is no doubt it would also have been called

‘ de-

‘ *destructive*, and some of the gentlemen now
 ‘ in office would this day have been calling
 ‘ for vengeance upon the minister’s head.

‘ Of Dunkirk he said but little. The French
 ‘ were more favoured in this article of the
 ‘ present preliminaries, than they had been
 ‘ by any former treaty. He had made the
 ‘ treaty of Aix la Chapelle his guide on this
 ‘ point; but in the present treaty even that
 ‘ requisition was disregarded*.

‘ Of the dereliction of North America by
 ‘ the French, he entirely approved. But the
 ‘ negotiators had no trouble in obtaining this
 ‘ acquisition. It had been the *uti possidetis* in
 ‘ his own negotiation, to which the French
 ‘ had readily consented. But Florida, he said,
 ‘ was no compensation for the Havannah;
 ‘ the Havannah was an important conquest.
 ‘ He had designed to make it, and would
 ‘ have done it some months earlier, had he

* The necessary stipulations concerning Dunkirk have
 been greatly mistaken; if the reader will take the trouble to
 turn to the events of 1765, during the administration of the
 Marquis of Rockingham, he will find this matter explained
 more clearly than it has hitherto been.

‘ been

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‘ been permitted to execute his own plans.
 ‘ From the moment the Havannah was
 ‘ taken, all the Spanish treasures and riches
 ‘ in America lay at our mercy. Spain had
 ‘ purchased the security of all these, and the
 ‘ restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of
 ‘ Florida only. It was no equivalent. There
 ‘ had been a bargain, but the terms were in-
 ‘ adequate. They were inadequate in every
 ‘ point where the principle of reciprocity was
 ‘ affected to be introduced.

‘ He had been blamed for consenting to
 ‘ give up Guadaloupe. That cession had
 ‘ been a question in another place. He
 ‘ wished to have kept the island (see Ap-
 ‘ pendix M); he had been over-ruled in that
 ‘ point also; he could not help it; he had
 ‘ been over-ruled many times—on many oc-
 ‘ casions; he had acquiesced—he had sub-
 ‘ mitted; but at length he saw that all his
 ‘ measures—all his sentiments, were inimical
 ‘ to the new system—to those persons to
 ‘ whom his Majesty had given his confidence.
 ‘ But to Guadaloupe these persons had added the
 ‘ cession of Martinique. Why did they permit
 ‘ the force to conquer Martinique, if they were

‘ re-

' resolved to restore it? Was it because the
 ' preparations for that conquest were so far ad-
 ' vanced they were afraid to countermand
 ' them? And to the cession of the islands of
 ' Cuba, Guadaloupe, and Martinique, there
 ' is added the island of St. Lucia, the only
 ' valuable one of the neutral islands. It is
 ' impossible, said he, to form any judgment
 ' of the motives which can have influenced
 ' his Majesty's servants to make these im-
 ' portant sacrifices. They seem to have lost
 ' sight of the great fundamental principle,
 ' That France is chiefly, if not solely, to be
 ' dreaded by us in the light of a maritime
 ' and commercial power: And therefore, by
 ' restoring to her all the valuable West India
 ' islands, and by our concessions in the New-
 ' foundland fishery, we had given to her the
 ' means of recovering her prodigious losses,
 ' and of becoming once more formidable to
 ' us at sea. That the fishery trained up an
 ' innumerable multitude of young seamen,
 ' and that the West India trade employed
 ' them when they were trained. After the
 ' peace of Aix la Chapelle, France gained a
 ' decided superiority over us in this lucrative
 ' branch of commerce, and supplied almost

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‘ all Europe with the rich commodities which
 ‘ are produced only in that part of the world.
 ‘ By this commerce she enriched her mer-
 ‘ chants, and augmented her finances. The
 ‘ state of the existing trade in the conquests in
 ‘ North America, is extremely low ; the spe-
 ‘ culations of their future are precarious, and
 ‘ the prospect at the very best very remote.
 ‘ We stand in need of supplies, which will
 ‘ have an effect, certain, speedy, and confi-
 ‘ derable. The retaining both, or even one
 ‘ of the considerable French islands, Martinico
 ‘ or Guadaloupe, will, and nothing else can,
 ‘ effectually answer this triple purpose. The
 ‘ advantage is immediate. It is a matter not
 ‘ of conjecture, but of account. The trade
 ‘ with these conquests is of the most lucra-
 ‘ tive nature, and of the most considerable
 ‘ extent; the number of ships employed by
 ‘ it are a great resource to our maritime
 ‘ power ; and what is of equal weight, all
 ‘ that we gain on this system is made four-
 ‘ fold to us, by the loss which ensues to
 ‘ France. But our conquests in North Ame-
 ‘ rica are of very little detriment to the com-
 ‘ merce of France. On the West Indian
 ‘ scheme of acquisition, our gain and her loss
 ‘ go

' go hand in hand. He insisted upon the ob-
 ' vious connection of this trade with that of
 ' the colonies in North America, and with
 ' our commerce to the coast of Africa. The
 ' African trade would be augmented; which,
 ' with that of North America, would all center
 ' in Great Britain. But if the islands are all
 ' restored, a great part of the benefit of the
 ' colony trade must redound to those who
 ' were lately our enemies, and will always be
 ' our rivals. Though we had retained either
 ' Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both
 ' these islands, our conquests were such that
 ' there was still abundant matter left to dis-
 ' play our moderation.

' Goree, he said, is also surrendered, with-
 ' out the least apparent necessity, notwith-
 ' standing it had been agreed in the negotia-
 ' tion with M. *Buffy*, that it should remain
 ' with the British crown, because it was es-
 ' sential to the security of Senegal.

' In the East Indies there was an engage-
 ' ment for mutual restitution of conquests.—
 ' He asked, What were the conquests which
 ' France had to restore? He declared that she

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' had done. All the conquests which France
' had made had been re-taken, and were in
' our own possession; as were likewise all the
' French settlements and factories. There-
' fore, the restitution was all from one side.
' We retained nothing, although we had
' conquered every thing.

' The restitution of Minorca he approved;
' and that, he said, was the only conquest
' which France had to restore; and for this
' island we had given the East Indies, the
' West Indies, and Africa. The purchase
' was made at a price that was fifty times
' more than it was worth. Belleisle alone,
' he affirmed, was a sufficient equivalent for
' Minorca.

' As to Germany, he said, it was a wide
' field; a tedious and lengthened considera-
' tion, including the interests of many hostile
' powers; some of them immediately, and
' others eventually, connected with Great
' Britain. There might sometimes be policy
' in the construction of our measures, to con-
' sult our insular situation only. But while
' we had France for our enemy, it was a scene

‘ to employ, and to baffle her arms. Had
 ‘ the armies of France not been employed in
 ‘ Germany, they would have been transported
 ‘ to America, where we should have found it
 ‘ more difficult to have conquered them. And
 ‘ if we had succeeded, the expence would
 ‘ have been greater. Let any one, he said,
 ‘ make a fair estimate of the expence of trans-
 ‘ ports and provisions to that distant climate,
 ‘ and he will find, in the article of ex-
 ‘ pence, the war in Germany to be infinitely
 ‘ less than in the wilds of America. Upon
 ‘ this principle he affirmed that the conquests
 ‘ made in America had been owing to the
 ‘ employment of the French army in Ger-
 ‘ many. He said, with an emphasis, that
 ‘ America had been conquered in Germany.

‘ He owned that several objections had
 ‘ been made to the German war. He thought
 ‘ them frivolous and puerile, factious and
 ‘ malicious. It had been said, that during
 ‘ twelve months after the Marathon of Min-
 ‘ den, not a squadron of ships had been sent
 ‘ to make any British conquests: If this be
 ‘ true, will any man say that France would,
 ‘ the day before the battle of Minden, have

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‘ made those humiliating concessions she afterwards did make? To what but her ill success in the German war, was it owing that she submitted to the most mortifying terms in the late negotiation with M. *Buffy*? These facts speak for themselves; and from them it appears that the concessions offered by France, during the late negotiation, which will always be remembered with glory to Great Britain, were owing to our perseverance in the German war, and to our observing good faith towards our Protestant allies on the continent.

‘ Other objections had been made, and while he was upon the subject he would take notice of them. It had been said, that the French subsidies do not amount to half what we pay. The subsidies which the French actually pay may not, but what they promise mount to double. They subsidize Sweden, Russia, and the Swisses, several Italian states, and, if we are to believe their own writers, even the Danes; those subsidies are most, or all of them, for negative services. They have got nothing by the Swedes; they have got nothing by the
‘ Em-

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‘ Empress of Russia, though she has got a
 ‘ great deal for herself; they have got far less
 ‘ by the Empress Queen, if we except the
 ‘ honour of having buried above 150,000 of
 ‘ their best troops in Germany. The Wir-
 ‘ temburghers, it is well known, have refused
 ‘ to serve them; the Swiss and Italian states
 ‘ cannot serve them, and the Danes give
 ‘ them—a neutrality.

‘ The subsidy to Hesse had been arraigned,
 ‘ and falsehood had been added to malignity.
 ‘ But it ought to be remembered, that the
 ‘ treaty with Hesse was made before he came
 ‘ into office. An imputation of crime to him,
 ‘ for not breaking that alliance, came with a
 ‘ very ill grace from them who made it.
 ‘ They blamed him for consenting to pay the
 ‘ Prince of Hesse a sum of money for the da-
 ‘ mage done by the French in his dominions.
 ‘ He was astonished that any set of men, who
 ‘ arrogated to themselves the distinction of
 ‘ friends to his present Majesty, should repre-
 ‘ sent this circumstance as a crime. Can a
 ‘ people, he asked, who impeached the Tory
 ‘ ministry of Queen *Anne*, for not supporting
 ‘ the Catalans at an expence that would have

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‘ cost some millions, against their King,
 ‘ merely because they were our allies—can a
 ‘ people who unanimously gave 100,000*l.* as
 ‘ a relief to the Portuguese, when under the
 ‘ afflicting hand of heaven, merely because
 ‘ they were our allies—can a people who in-
 ‘ demnify their American subjects, whom at
 ‘ the same time they protect in their posses-
 ‘ sions, and even give damages to their own
 ‘ publicans when they suffer, though in pur-
 ‘ suance of our own acts of Parliament—can
 ‘ such a people cry aloud against the mode-
 ‘ rate relief to a Prince, the ally and son-in-
 ‘ law of Great Britain, who is embarked in
 ‘ the same cause with Great Britain, who is
 ‘ suffering for her, who for her sake is driven
 ‘ from his dominions, where he is unable to
 ‘ raise one shilling of his revenue, and with
 ‘ his wife, the daughter of our late venerable
 ‘ monarch, is reduced to a state of exile and
 ‘ indigence? Surely they cannot. Let our
 ‘ munificence, therefore, to such a Prince, be
 ‘ never again repeated.

‘ It had been exultingly said, that the
 ‘ present German war had overturned that
 ‘ balance of power which we had fought for
 ‘ in

‘ in the reigns of King *William* and Queen
‘ *Anne*. This assertion was so far from hav-
‘ ing the smallest foundation in truth, that he
‘ believed the most superficial observers of
‘ public affairs scarcely stood in need of being
‘ told, that that balance was overturned long
‘ before this war had existence. It was over-
‘ turned by the Dutch before the end of the
‘ late war. When the French saw that they
‘ had nothing to apprehend from the Dutch,
‘ they blew up that barrier for which our *Nas-*
‘ *sau*s and *Marlboroughs* had fought. The
‘ *Louvestein* faction again got the ascendancy
‘ in Holland; the French monarchy again
‘ took the Dutch republic under its wings,
‘ and the brood it has hatched has—but let
‘ us forbear serpentine expressions. Since the
‘ time that the grand confederacy against
‘ France took place, the military power of the
‘ Dutch by sea and land has been in a man-
‘ ner extinguished, while another power,
‘ then scarcely thought of in Europe, has
‘ started up—that of Russia, and moves in
‘ its own orbit extrinsically of all other sys-
‘ tems; but gravitating to each, according to
‘ the mass of attracting interest it contains.—
‘ Another power, against all human expecta-
‘ tion,

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' tion, was raised in Europe in the House of
 ' Brandenburg; and the rapid successes of
 ' his Prussian Majesty prove him to be born
 ' to be the natural asserter of Germanic liberties
 ' against the House of Austria. We have
 ' been accustomed to look up with reverence
 ' to that House, and the phenomenon of
 ' another great power in Germany was so
 ' very new to us, that for some time he was
 ' obliged to attach himself to France. France
 ' and Austria united, and Great Britain and
 ' Prussia coalesced. Such are the great events
 ' by which the balance of power in Europe has
 ' been entirely altered since the time of the
 ' grand alliance against France. His late Ma-
 ' jesty so passionately endeavoured to main-
 ' tain or revive the ancient balance, that he
 ' encountered at home, on that account, op-
 ' position to his government, and abroad
 ' danger to his person; but he could not re-
 ' animate the Dutch with the love of liberty,
 ' nor inspire the Empress Queen with senti-
 ' ments of moderation. They talk at random,
 ' therefore, who impute the present situation
 ' of Germany to the conduct of Great Britain.
 ' Great Britain was out of the question; nor
 ' could she have interposed in it, without tak-
 ' ing

' ing a much greater share than she did. To
 ' represent France as an object of terror, not
 ' only to Great Britain, but Europe, and
 ' that we had mistaken our interest in not re-
 ' viving the grand alliance against her, was
 ' mere declamation. Her ruined armies
 ' now returning from Germany, without
 ' being able, through the opposition of a
 ' handful of British troops, to effect any ma-
 ' terial object, is the strongest proof of the
 ' expediency of the German war.

' The German war prevented the French
 ' from succouring their colonies and islands
 ' in America, in Asia, and in Africa. Our
 ' successes were uniform, because our mea-
 ' sures were vigorous.

' He had been blamed for continuing the
 ' expence of a great marine, after the defeat
 ' of *M. Conflans*. This was a charge that
 ' did not surprise him, after the many others
 ' which had been made, and which were
 ' equally unfounded and malignant. It was
 ' said that the French marine, after that de-
 ' feat, was in so ruinous a condition that
 ' there was not the least occasion for our
 ' keep-

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‘ keeping so formidable a force to watch its
‘ motions. It was true, he said, that the
‘ French marine was ruined; no man
‘ doubted it—they had not ten ships of the
‘ line fit for service; but could we imagine
‘ that Spain, who in a very short time gave
‘ him but too much reason to be convinced
‘ that his suspicions were well-founded, was
‘ not in a common interest with France; and
‘ that the Swedes, the Genoese, and even
‘ the Dutch, would not have lent their ships
‘ for hire?

‘ He begged pardon of the House for de-
‘ taining them so long; he would detain them
‘ but a few minutes longer.

‘ The desertion of the King of Prussia,
‘ whom he styled the most magnanimous ally
‘ this country ever had, in the preliminary
‘ articles on the table, he reprobated in the
‘ strongest terms. He called it insidious,
‘ tricking, base, and treacherous. After
‘ amusing that great and wonderful Prince,
‘ during four months, with promises of the
‘ subsidy, he had been deceived and disap-
‘ pointed. But to mark the inveteracy and
‘ trea-

‘ treachery of the cabinet still stronger, he is
‘ selected from our other allies, by a malici-
‘ ous and scandalous distinction in the present
‘ articles. In behalf of the other allies of
‘ Great Britain, we had stipulated, that all
‘ the places belonging to them, which had
‘ been conquered, should be evacuated and
‘ *restored*: But with respect to the places
‘ which the French had conquered be-
‘ longing to the King of Prussia, there was
‘ stipulated *evacuation* only. Thus the
‘ French might keep those places until the
‘ Austrian troops were ready to take possession
‘ of them. All the places which the French
‘ possessed belonging to the Elector of Hano-
‘ ver, the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave
‘ of Hesse, &c. did not amount to more
‘ than ten villages, or about an hundred
‘ acres of land; but the places belonging to
‘ the King of Prussia they were in possession
‘ of, were Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c.

‘ Upon the whole, the terms of the pro-
‘ posed treaty met with his most hearty dis-
‘ approbation. He saw in them the seeds of
‘ a future war. The peace was insecure, be-
‘ cause it restored the enemy to her former
‘ great-

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‘ greatness. The peace was inadequate, be-
‘ cause the places gained were no equivalent
‘ for the places surrendered.’

He was so ill and faint towards the end of his speech, he could scarcely be heard. He intended to have spoken to some points relative to Spain, but he was unable.

He spoke near three hours; and when he left the House, which was before the division, he was in the greatest agony of pain.

The motion was agreed to by a very large majority.

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ADDRESSES ON THE PEACE.—MR. PITT AGAINST THE EX-
CISE ON CYDER.—LORD BUTE TAMPERS WITH THE CITY
OF LONDON.—DENIES IT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—
PROVED AT GUILDHALL.—A PORTRAIT.—LORD BUTE
RESIGNS.

THE addresses to the King, which followed the parliamentary approbation of the preliminary articles of peace, were obtained by means equally corrupt and dishonourable.—There was one instance where the seal of a corporation was forged, and more than one where it was feloniously obtained. The city of London refused to address, although the sum of fourteen thousand pounds was offered to complete the new bridge at Blackfriars. No means were left untried every where to obtain addresses. The Lord-lieutenants had begging letters sent them to use their influence, and five hundred pounds secret service were added to each letter. The sum of five hundred pounds was the notorious price of an address. Some addresses cost a much larger sum. The sum was regulated according to the

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the importance and magnitude of the place from which the address was obtained. The corruption without doors was as lavish as it had been within. Of Bath, in particular, being the city Mr. *Pitt* represented, the reader will see the correspondence in the Appendix O. This conduct of administration exhibited to the world two disgraceful things; one, that the people were capable of being corrupted; the other, that the King was easily deceived. The former, until this period, might have seemed improbable; the latter might be possible.

Mr. Pitt
against the
excise on
cyder.

M. S.

Mr. *Pitt* took no other part in the proceedings of this session, until a bill was brought in laying a duty upon cyder and perry, and subjecting the makers of those liquors to the laws of excise. He opposed this bill very strongly, upon the dangerous precedent of admitting the officers of excise into private houses. Every man's house was his castle, he said. If this tax is endured, he said, it will necessarily lead to introducing the laws of excise into the domestic concerns of every private family, and to every species of the produce of land. The laws of excise
are

are odious and grievous to the dealer, but intolerable to the private person. The precedent, he contended, was particularly dangerous, when men by their birth, education, and profession, very distinct from the trader, become subjected to those laws*.

Mr. *Pitt's bon mot* in this debate, is remembered for the mirth it occasioned.

Mr. *Grenville* spoke in answer to Mr. *Pitt*, and although he admitted that the excise was odious, yet he contended that the tax was unavoidable; government did not know where they could lay another tax of equal efficiency. The right hon. gentleman, says he, complains of the hardship of this tax—why does he not tell us where we can lay another tax instead of it; and he repeated, with a strong emphasis, two or three times, *Tell me where you can lay another tax!*

Mr. *Pitt* replied, in a musical tone, *Gentle shepherd, tell me where.*

* The principal arguments against this bill may be seen in two Protests of the Lords—on the 29th, the other on the 30th of March 1763.

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The whole House burst out in a fit of laughter, which continued for some minutes.

Lord Bute
tampered
with the
city of Lon-
don.

While the bill was pending, the corporation of the city of London became alarmed by this extension of the excise laws to private houses, and presented a petition to the House of Commons against the bill; at the same time Sir *Richard Glynn** told Sir *John Phillips*†, that the city of London had resolved to petition every branch of the legislature against the bill. Lord *Bute* was alarmed at the threat to present a petition to the King; and Sir *John Phillips*, in Lord *Bute*'s name, assured the gentlemen of the city committee, while they were waiting in the lobby of the House of Commons at the time the petition was presented to that House, that if they would withhold their petition to the King, Lord *Bute* would promise, and engage upon his honour, that the act should be repealed next year. One of the committee answered‡, "Who can undertake for Lord *Bute* being

* One of the members for the city of London.

† One of Lord *Bute*'s confidants.

‡ Mr. *Samuel Freeman*.

“ minister next year, or for his influence
 “ over Parliament?”

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This application not proving successful, a card from Mr. *Jenkinson*, Lord *Bute*'s confidential secretary, and now Lord *Hawkesbury*, was brought in the evening to Sir *James Hodges*, town-clerk of the city, desiring to see him next morning at Lord *Bute*'s house, in South-Audley Street, upon particular business. Sir *James* went, and was introduced to Lord *Bute* by the secretary. The minister requested the town-clerk, in the most anxious and pressing manner, to acquaint the gentlemen of the city committee, that if they would not present their intended petition to the king, he would engage, and did then engage, to obtain a repeal of the Act next session. Sir *James* returned into the city, and collected the committee at his office in Guildhall, and laid before them a state of the conference he had had with the minister. The committee treated the promise with contempt, saying it was no more than a repetition of the same assurance which had been made to them the preceding day by Sir *John Phillips*. The pe-

GG 2

tition

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petition to the Lords, and the petition to the King, were presented, but without effect.

Lord *Temple* presented the city's petition to the House of Lords (March 28), on the second reading of the bill, and in the course of his speech upon that occasion, mentioned the circumstance of Lord *Bute's* tampering with the city committee.

Denies it in
the House of
Lords.

Upon which Lord *Bute* got up, and assured the House "*That the whole was a FACTIOUS LIE.*"

This assertion was not only too coarse, but too strong, to pass unnoticed.

Proved at
Guildhall.

The corporation of the city of London immediately assembled to inquire into the conduct of the town-clerk. At this inquiry Sir *James Hodges* acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the whole court, by a candid and fair narration of all the preceding facts; and at the conclusion he voluntarily offered to verify the same upon oath. From this inquiry

quiry it was indisputably clear *who was the* CHAP.
*liar**. XXIV.

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Lord

• A PORTRAIT,

DRAWN IN THE YEAR 1776.

TO draw a character so much beneath the honours of portraiture, would need apology, if the caprice of fortune, in a fit of ill-humour against this nation, had not, by giving to the original a situation for which Nature had never designed him, raised him into notice, and made him, in the consequences, an object of the public concern. It is only then for the most candid motive of a public utility, to atone for the ignobleness of the personage whose portrait is here exhibited; faithfully taken, feature by feature, without any the least caricature, and too fatally fulfilling the idea of a favourite without merit.

Constitutionally false, without system, and in the most capital points, greatly to his own disadvantage, so; being in fact neither true to others nor to himself: Involved by the necessity of his nature, in that vicious circle of being false because weak, and weak because false.

Reserved, inward, and darksome; sequestered in some measure from society, taking covert in the shades of embowered life, as the refuge of vanity from the wounds of contempt. Clandestine without concealment—sad without sorrow—domestic without familiarity—haughty without elevation; nothing great, nothing noble having ever marked his character, or illustrated his conduct, public or private. Reducing every thing to his own ideas, that standard of littleness, that mint of falsity. Stubborn without firmness, and ambitious without spirit. A frigid friend, a mean enemy. Nauseously bloated with a stupid, rank, quality pride, without the air, the ease, the manners, the dignity of a gentleman. Ungenerous without any very extraordinary note of avarice; but rather so through

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Lord *Bute*, finding his cabinet divided upon almost every question that came before them ;
and

that poverty of head and heart, from which so many people of fortune hug themselves on what they imagine *saved* by the omission of some *little* circumstance that honour, justice, or taste required of them, though by that *little* so saved, they not only lose the *much* they will have sacrificed to their various objects of vanity, but where they bespoke admiration find no returns for their expence but just censure and derision. And surely in this point of vulgar error, among the low understandings in high life, this poor man was not born to break herd.

Bookish without learning ; in his library of parade as insensible and unconvertible on the great objects of literature, as one deaf and dumb questioned on a concert of music ; as little of a judge as a blind man in a gallery of pictures. A dabbler in the fine arts, without grace, without taste. A traveller through countries without seeing them, and totally unacquainted with his own.

In a dull ungenial solitude, muddling away what leisure he may have from false politics, and ruinous counsels, in stuffing his port-folios with penny prints and pretty pictures of coloured simples, those gazing-traps of simpletons, and garnishing his knicknackatory with mechanical toys, baubles, and gimcracks, or varying his nonsense with little tricks of chemistry, while all these futile puerilities have been rendered still more futile by the gloom of a solemn visage, ridiculously exhibiting the preternatural character of a grave child. Bagatelles these, which it would doubtless be impertinent, illiberal, and even uncharitable to mention, were it not for the apprehension of his having inspired this most unroyal taste for trifles where it could not exist, but at the expence of a time and attention, of which the nation could not be robbed without capital detriment to

it ;

and fearing the Duke of *Bedford*'s indignation, who was on the point of returning from Paris ;

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it ; a circumstance this, that must draw down a ridicule upon his master, not to be easily shaken off, and as much more hurtful to a Prince than a calumny of a graver nature, as contempt is ever more fatal to government than even fear or hatred.

Too unhappily, alas ! for this nation, chance had thrown this egregious trifler into a family whom his domestic streights had favourably disposed towards him. How he maintained and improved his footing into a pernicious ascendant, is surely beneath curiosity. So much, however, it would be unfair to suppress, that the attack on the fame of his political maker*, was not only treated by him with such an apathy as had nothing in it of a just and noble contempt ; but to consummate the ingratitude, one of notoriously the first instigators of the scandal† was enrolled among his intimate confidants and supporters, without even this being the only appearance afforded by him of his not being infinitely displeased at the currency of the calumny.

As to the royal pupil, who, by a much misplaced confidence, fell under his management at the tender age of susceptibility of all impressions, it was not well possible for him to prevent a deep-rooted partiality for a choice manifestly not made by him, but for him. In raw, unexperienced, unguarded youth, practised upon by an insidious study of his inclinations, not to rectify, but to govern him by them ; captivated by an unremitting attention to humour, and perpetuate the natural bent of that age to the lighter objects of amusement ; insti-

* The writer of *The North Briton*, respecting the Princess Dowager of Wales.

† Lord Talbot, who was made Lord Steward by Lord Bute.

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Paris; he settled an arrangement in favour of the Duke's friends, and retired from his public

tuted to an implicit faith in the man who littered his head with trifles, and, unable to corrupt his heart, only hardened it like his own against the remonstrances of true greatness, while warping his understanding with the falsest notions of men and things, and especially of maxims of state, of which himself never had so much as an elementary idea; thus delivered up to such a tutor, how could the disciple possibly escape such a combination? What of essentially wise or magnanimous could he learn from such a pedlar in politics and manners? No one can impart what himself never had. Honour, gratitude, dignity of sentiment, energy of sincerity, comprehensiveness of views, were not in him to inculcate. Obstinacy, under the stale disguise of firmness; the royalty of repairing a wrong by persisting in it, the plausible decencies of private life, the petty moralities, the minutenesses of public arrangements, the preference of dark juggle, mystery, and low artifice, to the frank open spirit of government; the abundant sufficiency of the absence of great vices, to atone for the want of great virtues; a contempt of reputation, and especially that execrable absurdity in the sovereign of a free people, the neglect of popularity; were all that the hapless pupil could possibly learn from such a preceptor. Moulded by such an eternal tutorage, imperceptibly formed not to govern, but to be governed; and from being the lawful possessor of a great empire, converted into the being himself the property of a little silly subject; stolen thus away from himself, what remains for us but ardently to pray that, before it is too late, he may be restored to himself; that he may at length enter into the genuine spirit of royalty, assume the part he was born to, and have a character of his own? May he quit a borrowed darkness for native light, never more to exhibit, in any the least degree,
the

lic station on the eighth day of April 1763. He made Mr. *Grenville* his successor †, hoping he

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the copy of an original, whom not to resemble would surely be the honour ! Let him give us the sovereign himself, not the favourite at second hand, or what is still worse yet, the favourite's *commis** at second hand ! And in this deprecation of detriment and dishonour to himself, there can questionless be nothing disloyal or disrespectful.

This testimony of a genuine sentiment takes birth too naturally from the subject with which it is connected to appear a digression ; though in such a cause, and in such a crisis of the times, I should have judged even the digressiveness meritorious, and certainly alone the best apology for a portrait, the exhibition of which, from any motive of pique or personality, would be infinitely beneath the meanest of daubers.

Here it would be perfectly insignificant to search out the distinction, without a deference to the public, whether or not the favourite, after that scandalous desertion, when he as abjectly sneaked out of an ostensible office in the state, as he had arrogantly strutted into it, retains individually by himself, or by his appointment of others, the power of continuing that infernal chaos, into which he from the first plunged affairs, at the

* Lord *Hawkebury*.

† When Mr. *Grenville* was appointed secretary of state, he was under the necessity of soliciting his brother, Lord *Temple*, to permit him to be re-elected for the town of Buckingham ; and upon his promotion to the treasury, he repeated the same act of supplication. His generous brother said, It would have been a disgrace to government to have seen the King's first minister a mendicant for a seat in Parliament.

he should, by that promotion, appease the Duke's choler.—It was immediately signi-

the time that, through his cloudy imbecility, it so soon thickened in the clear of the fairest horizon that ever tantalised a country with the promise of meridian splendour. It is enough to observe, that since his having delivered up, to his own parasites, that master whom he thus made the center of their paltry cabals, and the prey of their sordid rapaciousness, it appears, at least from the identity of spiritlessness, of insensibility to honour, of want of plan, and of the total disorder in which we see things for ever languishing, that the same destructive impulsion still subsists; while none could collaterally be admitted into any participation of trust, but such as would wink hard, and at least pretend not to see through that gross illusion, with which a natural desire of not appearing to be governed, might blind a Prince, without imposing on any but himself.—The joke of holding committees with respective ministers of departments passes on no one. In vain would the master take blame upon himself, and father errors not his own. The wires of motion to the will have been too clumsily worked not to be seen, however they may not have been felt. Add, that the primary cause may, by the fairest investigation, be brought home to that unhappy man whom chance had thrown into a channel of power to do much good, or much mischief. The last he has mechanically done, without, perhaps, much meaning it, coming upon the scene with absolutely every thing in his favour, except himself. All prejudice then apart, mark in him, to his Prince a tutor without knowledge, a minister without ability, a favourite without gratitude! the very anti-genius of politics; the curse of Scotland; the disgrace of his master; the despair of the nation; and the disdain of history.

fied

fied to all the foreign ministers, that his Majesty had placed his government in the hands of Mr. *Grenville*, Lord *Halifax*, and Lord *Egremont*, and as soon as the other arrangements were made (the particulars of which the reader will see in the list of administrations at the end of the work), the session was closed on the nineteenth of April.

It was upon the speech delivered at the close of this session, that *The North Briton* made those observations which drew upon the supposed author an illegal and vindictive exertion of all the power and malice of government. The particulars of this interesting affair have been amply stated in several books. In *Junius's* address to the King, originally published on the 19th of December 1769, are these words, "The destruction of *one* man " has been for many years the sole object of " your government."

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INTERVIEW BETWEEN MR. PITT AND LORD BUTE.—CONFERENCES BETWEEN THE KING AND MR. PITT.—TREATY OF CONNIVANCE.—MR. PITT AT COURT.—HIS REMARK.—LORD HARDWICKE'S CONDUCT.

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EARLY in the month of August 1763, a circumstance happened which threw the ministry into some disorder and perplexity.—This was the sudden death of the Earl of *Egremont*. The ministers had rendered themselves odious to the nation by supporting the measures of the late administration, and the measures of the court, in the persecution of Mr. *Wilkes*. Notwithstanding Lord *Bute* had recommended them to their situations, as the bargain of his own escape, yet he grew impatient under the proscription he had imposed on himself, and apprehending that their removal would be received with satisfaction by the public, he seized this opportunity, which the death of the secretary of state afforded, and the vacancy of the president's chair, which had not been filled since the death of Lord *Granville*, to form a new administration; not so much with a view of manifesting

his influence, as of effecting his own emancipation. He fixed his attention upon Mr. *Pitt*. His wish was to form an administration under the auspices of that gentleman. For this purpose he sent Sir *Harry Erskine* to Mr. Alderman *Beckford*, soliciting the Alderman's interest with Mr. *Pitt*, to procure an interview for Lord *Bute*. The proposal was accepted, and Lord *Bute* waited on Mr. *Pitt* at his house in Jermyn-street, on Thursday the 25th of August 1763. Lord *Hardwicke*, in a letter which he wrote to his son, Lord *Roxton*, gives the following account of this interview, and of Mr. *Pitt*'s two conferences with the King, which took place in consequence of it :

Interview
with Lord
Bute.

“ *Wimpole, Sept. 4*, 1763.*

“ I have heard the whole from the Duke of *Newcastle*, and on Friday morning *de source* from Mr. *Pitt*. It is as strange as it is long, for I believe it is the most extraordinary transaction that ever happened in any court in Europe, even in times as extraordinary as the present.

* Sunday.

“ It

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“ It began as to the substance, by a message from my Lord *B—e* to Mr. *Pitt* at Hayes, through my Lord Mayor, to give him the meeting *privately* at some third place. This his Lordship (Lord B.) afterwards altered by a note from himself, saying, that as he loved to do things openly, he would come to Mr. *Pitt*’s house in Jermyn-street in broad daylight. They met accordingly, and Lord *B—e*, after the first compliments, frankly acknowledged that his ministry could not go on, and that the **** was convinced of it, and therefore he (Lord B.) desired that Mr. *Pitt* would open himself frankly and at large, and tell him his ideas of things and persons with the utmost freedom. After much excuse and hanging back, Mr. *Pitt* did so with the utmost freedom indeed, though with civility. Lord *B—e* heard with great attention and patience, entered into no defence, but at last said, “ If these are your opinions, why should “ you not tell them to the **** himself, “ who will not be unwilling to hear you?” *How can I, my Lord, presume to go to the ****, who am not of his council, nor in his service, and have no pretence to ask an audience? The presumption would be too great.* “ But “ sup-

“ suppose his M——y should order you to
 “ attend him, I presume, Sir, you would
 “ not refuse it.” *The ****’s command would
 make it my duty, and I should certainly obey
 it.*

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“ This was on last Thursday se’nnight *.
 On the next day (Friday) Mr. *Pitt* received
 from the **** *an open note unsealed*, requir-
 ing him to attend his M——y on Saturday
 noon, at the Q——’s palace in the Park. In
 obedience hereto, Mr. *Pitt* went on Saturday
 at noon-day through the Mall in his gouty
 chair, the boot of which (as he said himself)
 makes it as much known as if his name was
 writ upon it, to the Q——’s palace. He was
 immediately carried into the closet, received
 very graciously, and his M——y began in
 like manner as his *quondam* favourite had
 done, by ordering him to tell him his opinion
 of things and persons at large, and with the
 utmost freedom; and I think did in substance
 make the like confession, that he thought his
 present ministers could not go on. The
 audience lasted three hours, and Mr. *Pitt*

Conferences
with the
King.

* August 25.

went

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went through the whole, upon both heads, more fully than he had done to Lord *B—*, but with great complaisance and douceur to the ****; and his *M—y* gave him a very gracious accueil, and heard with great patience and attention. And Mr. *Pitt* affirms that, in general, and upon the most material points, he appeared by his manner, and many of his expressions, to be convinced. Mr. *Pitt* went through the infirmities of the peace, the things necessary and hitherto neglected to improve and preserve it; the present state of the nation, both foreign and domestic; the great Whig families and persons who had been driven from his Majesty's council and service, which it would be for his interest to restore. In doing this he repeated many names, upon which his *M—y* told him there was pen, ink, and paper, and he wished he would write them down. Mr. *Pitt* humbly excused himself, saying, *that* would be too much for him to take upon him, and he might, upon his memory, omit some material persons, which might be subject to imputation. The **** still said he liked to hear him, and bid him go on, but said now and then that his honour must be

con-

consulted ; to which Mr. *Pitt* answered in a very courtly manner. His M——y ordered him to come again on Monday, which he did, to the same place; and in the same public manner.

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“ Here comes in a parenthesis, that on Sunday Mr. *Pitt* went to Claremont, and acquainted the D. of *Newcastle* with the whole, fully persuaded from the ****’s manner and behaviour, that the thing would do; and that on Monday the outlines of the new arrangement would be settled. This produced the messages to those Lords who were sent for. Mr. *Pitt* undertook to write to the Duke of *Devonshire* and the Marquis of *Rockingham*; and the Duke of *Newcastle* to myself.

“ But behold the catastrophe of Monday†. The **** received him equally graciously; and that audience lasted near two hours. The **** began, that he had considered of what had been said, and talked still more strongly of his honour. His M——y then mentioned

† August 29.

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Lord *Northumberland*† for the treasury, still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr. *Pitt* hesitated an objection—that certainly Lord *Northumberland* might be considered, but that he should not have thought of him for the treasury. His M—— then mentioned Lord *Halifax* for the treasury.—Mr. *Pitt* said, Suppose your M—— should think fit to give his Lordship the paymaster's place. The **** replied, “But, Mr. *Pitt*, “I had designed that for poor *G. Grenville*. He “is your near relation, and you once loved “him.” To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait.—“Why,” says his M——, “should not “Lord *Temple* have the treasury? You could “go on then very well.” Sir, *the person whom you shall think fit to honour with the chief conduct of your affairs, cannot possibly go on without a treasury connected with him; but that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families who have*

† This was an idea at that time so strange, that it could not be explained until about six or seven months afterwards, when an alliance took place between Lord *Northumberland*'s eldest son and Lord *Bute*'s daughter, which in effect made Lord *Northumberland* a part of Lord *Bute*'s family, and which seems to have been at this time in contemplation.

sup-

*supported the Revolution government, and other great persons of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your M—— if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your M—— make a solid administration, on any other foot. “ Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear) “ this won’t do. My honour is concerned, “ and I must support it.”—Et sic finita est fabula. Vos valete, but I cannot with a safe conscience add plaudite. I have made my skeleton larger than I intended at first, and I hope you will understand it. Mr. Pitt professes himself firmly persuaded that my Lord B—— was sincere at first, and that the **** was in earnest the first day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, some strong effort was made, which produced the alteration.*

“ Mr. Pitt likewise affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negotiation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole.

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"It will certainly be given out, that the reason was the unreasonable extent of Mr. *Pitt's* plan—a general rout; and the minority, after having complained so much of proscriptions, have endeavoured to proscribe the majority. I asked Mr. *Pitt* the direct question, and he assured me that, although he thought himself obliged to name a great many persons for his own exculpation, yet he did not name above five or six for particular places. I must tell you that one of these was your humble servant for the president's place. This was entirely without my authority or privity. But the ****'s answer was, "Why, Mr. *Pitt*, it is vacant and ready for him, and he knows he may have it to-morrow if he thinks fit."

"I conjectured that this was said with regard to what had passed with poor Lord *Egremont*, which made me think it necessary to tell Mr. *Pitt* in general what had passed with that Lord (not owning that his Lordship had offered† it directly in the ****'s

† Mr. *C. Townshend's* explanation of this refusal was in these words: "Lord *Hardwicke* refused Lord *Egremont's* offer, because he thought the *best of the lay* was on the "other side."

name).

name), and what I had answered, which he, in his way, much commended.

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“ This obliges me to desire that you will send by the bearer my letter to you, which you were to communicate to my Lord *Lytelton*, that I may see how I have stated it there, for I have no copy.

“ I shall now make you laugh, though some parts of what goes before make me melancholy; to see the **** so committed, and his M—— submitting to it, &c. But what I mean will make you laugh is, that the ministers are so stung with this admission, that they cannot go on (and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on), and with my Lord *B—*’s having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they say Lord *B—* has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity; that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him. And I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord *Halifax* and *George Grenville* have declared that he is to go beyond the sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more. You

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know a certain *Cardinal* was twice exiled out of France, and governed France as absolutely whilst he was absent as when he was present."

To the preceding statement of Lord *Hardwicke*, it is proper to make some additions. The five or six other persons, whom his Lordship says Mr. *Pitt* named for places, were the following:

Lord *Temple* for the first Lord of the treasury, with power to name his own board.

Mr. *James Grenville* for chancellor of the exchequer*.

Himself secretary of state.

Mr. *C. Townshend* secretary of state, with the management of the House of Commons.

Lord *Albemarle* at the head of the army.

* He was second brother to Lord *Temple*. He was a man of excellent erudition and fine understanding. When Lord *Temple* and Lord *Chatham* differed in 1766, he adhered to Lord *Chatham*, and continued in that attachment to the death of his Lordship, whom he did not long survive.

Sir

Sir *Edward Hawke* at the head of the admiralty.

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On the Sunday between the two conferences, certain advice was given which broke off the negotiation. Lord *Bute* had the merit of bringing it on, and to him is to be ascribed the cause of its failure. It was signified to Lord *Bute* that if he turned out the ministry, his own *impeachment* should be the consequence. He took fright; and *again* compounded for his safety. But the ministers insisted upon his quitting London, and he agreed to pass the winter at his new estate in Bedfordshire. When this proscription was settled, the Duke of *Bedford* took the president's chair, Lord *Sandwich* was made secretary of state, and Lord *Egmont* had the admiralty. His Grace taking an official situation, the administration acquired the appellation of the *Duke of Bedford's ministry*. Lord *Melcombe's* words are the most proper commentary on this "treaty of connivance," (as Mr. *Pitt* called it)---"*It is all for quarter day,*"

Treaty of
connivance.

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Mr. Pitt at
court.

On the Wednesday (August 31) subsequent to the last conference with which his Majesty honoured Mr. *Pitt*, Lord *Temple* and Mr. *Pitt* went to St. James's to pay their duty to his Majesty; they were both received in the most gracious manner, and his Majesty, in the most obliging terms, said to Mr. *Pitt*, "I hope, Sir, you have not suffered by standing so long on Monday." Upon this occasion Mr. *Pitt* said to his friends, "His Majesty is the greatest courtier in his court,"

His remark.

Lord Hard-
wicke's con-
duct.

Although Lord *Hardwicke* and the Duke of *Newcastle* affected to be well satisfied with Mr. *Pitt*'s conduct in this negotiation, yet Lord *Hardwicke* was very desirous of a place at court, and would certainly have accepted of Lord *Egremont*'s offer, if he could have prevailed upon Lord *Bute* to have received the Duke of *Newcastle*, and two or three of his Grace's friends at the same time. But Lord *Egremont* would not undertake a negotiation with Lord *Bute* for that purpose, and Lord *Hardwicke* could not open one himself, having no direct communication with Lord *Bute*,

Bute, nor any ostensible pretence for it. Even in the present design of making some alterations in the ministry, the application was not made to him, but to Mr. *Pitt*. From motives of policy he concealed his disapprobation of this preference given to Mr. *Pitt*: But upon the discharge of Mr. *Wilkes*, by the chief justice of the common pleas, he attended the levee and drawing-room, accompanied by the Duke of *Newcastle*, and a few of their friends. Finding this bait not to succeed, he afterwards courted favour in a circuitous mode, by avowing in all companies his opinion to be totally different from the judicial judgment of the chief justice; and he actually formed a league with the Duke of *Newcastle*, and others, to determine in Parliament that the chief justice had done wrong in releasing a member of Parliament from confinement for a libel, upon a plea of privilege, by an implied censure in a vote, declaring, That privilege of Parliament did not extend to a libel. This league accounts for the protest upon that question not being signed by the Duke of *Newcastle*, Lord *Hardwicke*, Lord *Rockingham*, Lord *Sondes*, &c.; for at the meeting of the Lords in the minority, at Devonshire-

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shire-house, to settle the words of the protest, the Duke of *Newcastle* excused himself from promising to sign it, by relating this agreement with his friend Lord *Hardwicke*, who at the time of this meeting was confined by sickness, and who died about three months afterwards.

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MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—SERVILITY OF THE COMMONS; OF THE SPEAKER. — VERSATILITY. — VOTE AWAY THEIR OWN PRIVILEGE.—TORTURE PERMITTED AT HANOVER.—ROYAL APOPHTHEGM.—THE NORTH BRITON.—MR. PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THE SACRIFICE OF PRIVILEGE.

ON the fifteenth of November 1763, Parliament met. The moment the Commons were returned to their own House from the Lords, Mr. *Grenville* and Mr. *Wilkes*, rose together. Each was eager to address the House: Mr. *Grenville* to deliver the commands of the King—Mr. *Wilkes* to complain of a breach of privilege. By the settled forms of the House, the breach of privilege ought to have been heard first; but the Speaker, as previously directed, pointed to Mr. *Grenville*.

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Meeting of
Parliament.Servility of
the Com-
mons.

The reader must have perceived, in the course of these sheets, that the corruption of Parliament, or, as it is fashionably called, the management of Parliament, is become an indispensable part of the mechanism of government.

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Of the
Speaker.

ment. The particular servility of the Speaker has been noticed several times—by Mr. *Pitt* himself, in his speech for the repeal of the American Stamp Act.

Verfatility.

This Parliament, which had been elected while the Whigs were in office—which had supported them, and deserted them—which had supported Lord *Bute*, and deserted him also—was now the instrument of the Duke of *Bedford* and Mr. *Grenville*; such measures as they found necessary for the establishment of their situations, this Parliament readily supported. This Parliament voted away its own privilege, in the case of a libel, at the requisition of the minister, to gratify the King, in accelerating the punishment of Mr. *Wilkes* *; thereby

Vote away
their own
privilege.

* Mr. *Wilkes* was discharged from close imprisonment in the Tower, on account of his privilege. The warrant of commitment was not held to be illegal. A member of Parliament may therefore be committed for a libel before trial; and whether a paper be a libel or not, is a matter of discretion in the judgment of the King, his minister, or his attorney-general.—And as to witnesses, an expert solicitor of the treasury can always procure them.—So true are the words of *Algernon Sydney*, that “*false witnesses* are sent out to circumvent the most eminent men; the tribunals are filled with *court parasites*, that no man may escape, &c.” See his *Discourses*, 4to edit. p. 214.

The

thereby sacrificing not their own privileges only, but those of their constituents and posterity. The Lords adopting a vote of this sort could affect only themselves. But the

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The permission of the use of the TORTURE in his Majesty's dominions in Germany, would not be credited by the English reader, of a Prince of the House of Brunswick, did not the fact stand upon the unquestionable authority of that celebrated philanthropist, the late Mr. *Howard*, who gives the following account of the dreadful place in which the TORTURE is administered at Brunswick :

“ The descent is by fifteen steps, to a dark room, in which are some of the instruments of torture ; through this room is another arched room or cellar, 18 feet by 15, very black and dark ; at one end is a bench for the judge, lawyer, secretary, and surgeon ; opposite them is a table for candles, books, &c. The prisoner who suffers the torture, the executioner, and his man, are before them. This is done about midnight, though the thickness of the walls (three feet), the four doors (which I passed), the dirt floor, and depth under ground, must prevent the most agonizing cries from being heard any where but in that room. I saw all the remaining engines of torture, which are kept at the executioner's house. He seemed with pleasure to shew the mode of application on the first, second, and last question ; and very readily answered any inquiries, *having been several years in that occupation at Hanover*, though here, he said, he had only beheaded four or five. On asking if nothing was put into the tortured person's mouth, as I had in some places seen, he replied, “ No, the Osnaburgh executioner thinks they suffer less ;” and on his describing some of the modes of torture (which the wit of devils and men had invented), he said, “ Sir, the Osnaburgh torture is still ruder.”

pri-

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privileges of the Commons are connected with the rights of the people. One cannot be sacrificed without injuring the other. As the matter now stands, any obnoxious member or members may be easily got rid of.—The King or his minister has only to charge him, or them, with being the author or publisher of a libel; or if neither King, nor minister, chuses to be seen in it, they can order the attorney-general to do it by his information *ex officio*. When *Charles* the First wanted to seize the five members, he was too precipitate. Had he taken the modern mode, he would have succeeded. It is related as one of the royal apophthegms, that his Majesty, speaking of *Charles* the First, said, *He was a good King, a good King, but did not know how to govern by a Parliament.*

Royal
apoph-
thegm.

Mr. *Grenville* having delivered the King's message, stating that his Majesty had caused Mr. *Wilkes* to be apprehended and secured, for writing a libel, and that he had been released on his privilege, &c. the House took this matter *instantly* into consideration, and voted an address of thanks for his Majesty's gracious communication. The usual address

in reply to the speech on opening the session, was not mentioned this day ; and Mr. *Wilkes's* complaint of a breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, plundering his house, and seizing his papers, was put off to the twenty-third.

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The House immediately voted *The North Briton* a libel, although it was one of their own essential privileges always to treat the King's speech as the speech of the minister.

North Bri-
ton a libel.

The right of either, or both Houses of Parliament, to declare any paper a libel, which is to be tried by another jurisdiction, may, in some future day, become a question. Such a declaration is undoubtedly a pre-judgment of the paper, and cannot fail obtaining an influence on the minds of the jury who are to try the cause.

On the twenty-third of November Mr. *Wilkes's* complaint of a breach of privilege was taken into consideration ; when it was resolved, That privilege of Parliament did not extend to the case of writing or publishing a libel. On this day Mr. *Pitt* attended, although

Mr. Pitt on
privilege
and the
North Bri-
ton.
M. S.

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although so severely afflicted with the gout, he was obliged to be supported to his seat.—

‘ He spoke strongly against this surrender of
 ‘ the privileges of Parliament, as highly dan-
 ‘ gerous to the freedom of Parliament, and
 ‘ an infringement on the rights of the people.
 ‘ No man, he said, could condemn the paper
 ‘ or libel more than he did; but he would
 ‘ come at the author fairly, not by an open
 ‘ breach of the constitution, and a contempt
 ‘ of all restraint. This proposed sacrifice of
 ‘ privilege was putting every member of Par-
 ‘ liament, who did not vote with the mini-
 ‘ ster, under a perpetual terror of imprison-
 ‘ ment. To talk of an abuse of privilege, was
 ‘ to talk against the constitution, against the
 ‘ very being and life of Parliament. It was
 ‘ an arraignment of the justice and honour of
 ‘ Parliament, to suppose that they would pro-
 ‘ tect any criminal whatever. Whenever a
 ‘ complaint was made against any member,
 ‘ the House could give him up. This pri-
 ‘ vilege had never been abused; it had been
 ‘ reposed in Parliament for ages. But take
 ‘ away this privilege, and the whole Parlia-
 ‘ ment is laid at the mercy of the crown.—
 ‘ This privilege having never been abused,
 ‘ why

' why then is it to be voted away? Parlia-
 ' ment, he said, had no right to vote away
 ' its privileges. They were the inherent
 ' right of the succeeding members of that
 ' House, as well as of the present; and he
 ' doubted whether the sacrifice made by that
 ' House was valid and conclusive against the
 ' claim of a future Parliament. With respect
 ' to the paper itself, or the libel which had
 ' given pretence for this request to surrender
 ' the privileges of Parliament, the House had
 ' already voted it a libel—he joined in that
 ' vote. He condemned the whole series of
 ' North Britons; he called them illiberal, un-
 ' manly, and detestable. He abhorred all
 ' national reflections. The King's subjects
 ' were one people. Whoever divided them
 ' was guilty of sedition. His Majesty's com-
 ' plaint was well-founded, it was just, it was
 ' necessary. The author did not deserve to
 ' be ranked among the human species—he
 ' was the blasphemer of his God, and the li-
 ' beller of his King. He had no connection
 ' with him. He had no connection with
 ' any such writer. He neither associated nor
 ' communicated with any such. It was

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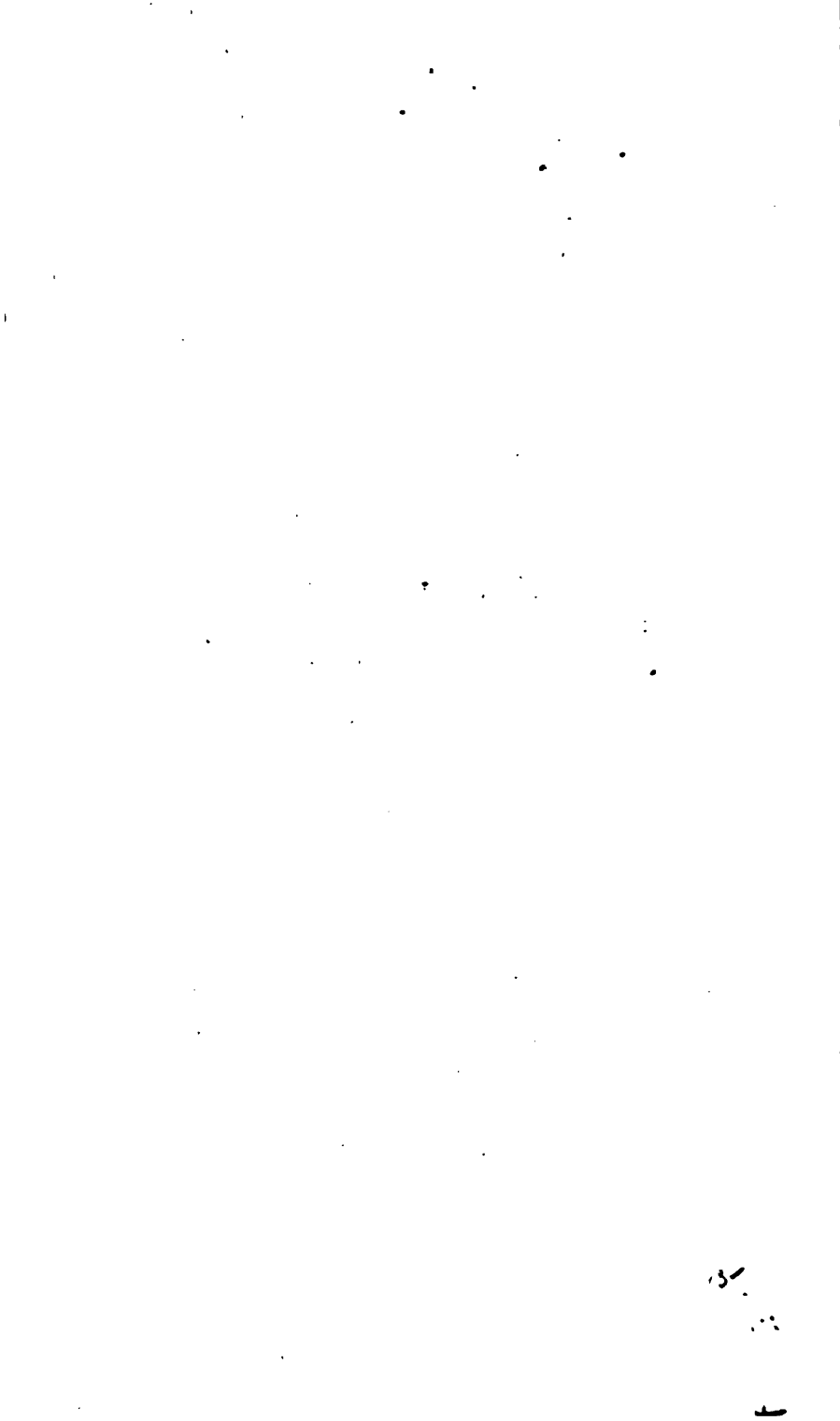
‘ true that he had friendships, and warm
 ‘ ones ; he had obligations, and great ones ;
 ‘ but no friendships, no obligations, could
 ‘ induce him to approve what he firmly con-
 ‘ demned. It might be supposed that he al-
 ‘ luded to his noble relation (Lord *Temple*).
 ‘ He was proud to call him his relation ; he
 ‘ was his friend, his bosom friend, whose
 ‘ fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They
 ‘ went into office together, and they came
 ‘ out together ; they had lived together, and
 ‘ would die together. He knew nothing of
 ‘ any connection with the writer of the libel.
 ‘ If there subsisted any, he was totally unac-
 ‘ quainted with it. The dignity, the honour
 ‘ of Parliament had been called upon to sup-
 ‘ port and protect the purity of his Majesty’s
 ‘ character ; and this they had done, by a
 ‘ strong and decisive condemnation of the
 ‘ libel, which his Majesty had submitted to
 ‘ the consideration of the House. But hav-
 ‘ ing done this, it was neither consistent
 ‘ with the honour and safety of Parliament,
 ‘ nor with the rights and interests of the
 ‘ people, to go one step farther. The rest
 ‘ belonged to the courts below.’

When

When he had finished speaking, he left the House, not being able to stay for the division.

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END OF VOLUME I.



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